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The "Teaching of History" Series

General Editor—JOHN BUCHAN

THE AGE OF QUEEN ANNE

No. 12



PRINCESS ANNE.

(After Lely.)

THE AGE OF QUEEN ANNE

BY

A. C. WOOD, B.LITT., M.A.



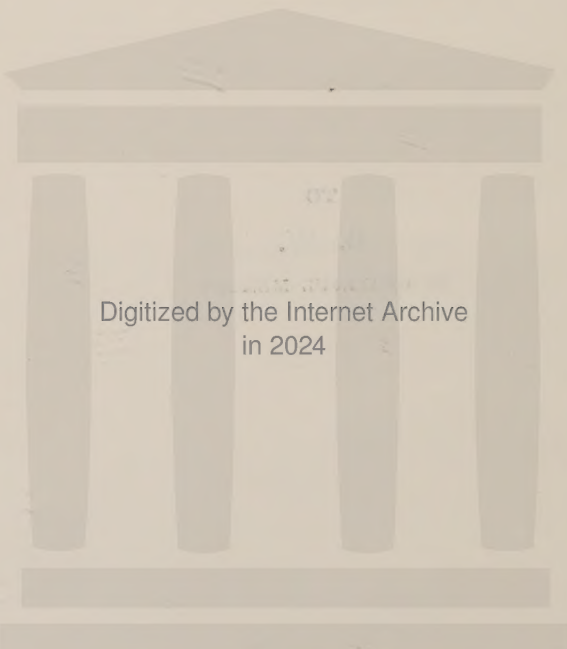
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TO
B. W.
IN GRATEFUL MEMORY



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THE AGE OF QUEEN ANNE

Chapter I

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE

Population, Manufactures, and Trade

THE England over which William III. and Queen Anne ruled was very different from the England in which we live to-day. Its inhabitants were then estimated to number about five and a half millions, and of this scanty population only one-seventh dwelt to the north of the Trent in the now populous areas of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland. Society was still predominantly rural, and barely a million people lived in towns. London, which was then, as now, by far the biggest centre of population in the island, accounted for about half of this total. Bristol and Norwich, which were the next largest cities, had from 30,000 to 35,000 inhabitants each, York and Exeter had 10,000, Manchester 6,000, and Liverpool and Birmingham had only 4,000 each. Industry, though it was growing steadily, was still backward, and restricted by the want of the mechanical devices which the industrial revolution provided later, and the great urban centres of industrialism which now distinguish the English landscape were then entirely unknown. It was the cultivation of land, and not manufactures or mining, which still employed the great majority of the population.

The chief manufacture of England at this time was woollen cloth, and to encourage it the export of raw wool had been prohibited since 1660. The industry



CARRIER'S WAGON, 1690.

was centred in three areas: at Norwich, Colchester, and in East Anglia generally; in Gloucester, Somerset, Dorset, and Devon, Exeter being especially renowned for the "incredible quantity" of serges sold through its market; and in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where a coarser and less refined cloth was made. A few mills existed, but the general rule was for the wool to be spun and woven in the workmen's own homes. The spinning was done by the women of the family, and particularly by the unmarried ones, with whom it was such a common occupation that "spinster" has passed into the language as the usual designation for a single woman. On fine days the women were to be seen sitting at their spinning wheels in the streets of most villages, doubtless gossiping as they worked. This "domestic" system of industry, as it is called, saved the workers from being herded into factories, but on the other hand it often meant greater irregularity of employment, lack of proper sanitation,

starvation wages, and sweating and long hours. Even children of four were sometimes made to work. When the yarn or cloth was ready it was collected by the wool merchants and carried on the backs of pack-horses

to the nearest market town, whence it was eventually distributed all over the world. Even the great camel convoys which wound their way across the Syrian deserts to Persia carried large quantities of English cloth for the grandees and rich men of the Shah's Empire.

In Lancashire cotton goods were manufactured from cotton brought from Cyprus and Syria, and the linen industry was also established there until, in Anne's reign, it was suppressed in the interests of the Irish linen trade. Some pottery was produced at Newcastle-under-Lyme, but it was of indifferent value, and the best porcelain, for which Queen Mary introduced a craze, was all brought from China. The Huguenots, who fled from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, introduced the arts of tapestry weaving, and of making watches, beaver hats, and a high-class paper which formerly had to be imported. In the Ipswich district they established the manufacture of sailcloth, and they gave a great impetus to silk weaving, which increased twentyfold during the closing years of the century. Tin mining still went on in Cornwall, and the ore was one of the main articles of export to the Levant. Some hardware was made at Birmingham, but nearly all iron was imported, because the forests in Sussex and elsewhere, which had hitherto supplied the charcoal for smelting, were exhausted, and no process had yet been invented for using coal. In 1709 Abraham Darby of Coalbrookdale began experiments with the use of coke, but this process was not applied satisfactorily for another forty years. At Newcastle, and in Cumberland, South Wales, and the Nottingham area coal was mined, though only in outcrops or by means of adits on hillsides. Deep pits were impossible, because there was no adequate means of pumping the water out of them until Thomas Savery and Thomas Newcomen, between 1698 and 1705, invented a steam-pump. A thriving trade was carried on between Newcastle and London in what was called "sea coal," because it was

conveyed by water. In all other areas wood fuel had to be used.

The external trade of the country was mainly in the hands of great chartered companies, who enjoyed a monopoly in their own particular areas. This system had been adopted because the State was not yet powerful enough to take the initiative in opening up new channels for trade, or to protect its subjects trafficking in distant and barbarous countries. Instead, wealthy corporations of merchants were granted wide powers of control, and in return for organizing and defending their particular trade they had the right to its exclusive enjoyment and to shut out all interlopers. The greatest of these companies, the East India Company, monopolized English trade to the Persian Gulf, India, and China, and though it fell into temporary difficulties at home after the revolution of 1688 owing to the politics of its governor, Sir Josiah Child, who had been a supporter of James II., its traffic remained a lucrative one. Silks, calicos, and spices of all kinds were imported, and high profits were made, though the days of the company's territorial dominion in India and of the " nabobs," who came home with the plunder of a province in their pockets, had not yet dawned. The company still remained exclusively a commercial corporation. The Levant Company traded with Turkey and the Eastern Mediterranean, and carried out large quantities of English cloth and tin in return for raw silk, cotton, mohair, and various drugs, dyes, and spices. The Russia Company had an extensive trade in the Baltic in timber, tar, and other naval requisites; the Hudson's Bay Company brought in furs from Canada; and the Royal African Company carried on the nefarious traffic in slaves from the Guinea coast to the West Indies and North America. By the close of the century 25,000 negroes were being shipped across the Atlantic annually. The old Merchant Adventurers were still established at Hamburg, and exported woollen goods, lead, tin, hides, beef, and tallow to northern Europe. From the West

India Islands sugar was being imported in increasing quantities, and from the North American colonies came tobacco, rice, and lumber in return for manufactured goods. By the Navigation Acts of Charles II.'s reign, which were strengthened in 1696, all this trade was restricted to English shipping, and the mercantile marine was rapidly establishing a supremacy over all foreign competitors in the carrying trade of the world. Their long wars with Louis XIV. finally crippled the Dutch; France was distracted by her continental ambitions and commitments; and it is not merely a chance circumstance which dates the rapid rise of the great seaport of Liverpool from this period. The volume of trade increased, its area spread, and England was steadily becoming a commercial nation with trading interests all over the world. The great political power won by the commercial classes, who were mainly Whigs, at the revolution only hastened this development which had been proceeding slowly since the days of the Tudors.

Agriculture

But industry and commerce alike were still subsidiary to agriculture. Four and a half millions of the population subsisted on the land, and it is to the squire and the peasant, to the manor-house and the village, that we must look for the typical society of the time. The enclosure movement of the sixteenth century continued slowly throughout the seventeenth, and travellers were beginning to comment upon the fenced-in fields and the hedgerows which bordered the roads in many districts; but most of the land—at least two-thirds of it—was still cultivated on the old open common field system which had come down from feudal days. The land adjacent to the village was divided into arable and meadow fields. The former were split up, usually into three divisions devoted in rotation to wheat, barley, and a fallow season. The two divisions in actual cultivation each year were cut up among the lord of the

manor and the villagers in strips separated only by balks of grass or a furrow, so that although each man each year had his own plot, he was tied down by the customary rotation and had little inducement to experiment with other crops, or to improve the soil by additional labour or expenditure. It was a wasteful system, which discouraged initiative and enterprise, and made scientific farming totally impossible; but as, with such a small population, it sufficed not only to feed the country but also to leave a surplus for export, there was no incentive to change. After the harvest the arable fields were thrown open for common pasturage, as also were the meadow lands when the hay crop had been gathered. The surrounding commons, woodlands, and roadside strips were used by all for pasture, fuel, and the snaring of wild game, and formed a very valuable addition to the cottagers' means of sustenance.

In a typical community of this kind there would be (subject, of course, to considerable variation) a squire, who lived in the neighbouring hall or manor-house, and who owned most of the strips in the fields; a few freeholders, or yeomen, who possessed and farmed moderate-sized estates; the peasantry, who held a few strips of land, occasionally as freeholders but more generally as copyholders under the squire; and squatters, who built cottages on the waste and lived partly on the food they could trap there, and partly by labouring for the larger farmers. In addition there were the unmarried labourers, usually the sons of the peasantry and the cottagers, who lived with the farmers who employed them, feeding at a common table in the big hall of the farmhouse, and sleeping in a barn or loft.

It was a rigid and unchanging society. Son succeeded father, and tilled the soil in unbroken succession. Migration was made difficult by the Settlement Act of 1662, which allowed any stranger to be sent back to the parish where he had last resided for forty consecutive days unless he could give a guarantee that he would not

become chargeable on the new parish. Nor was there much inducement to leave the village, for there were no large industrial towns to offer an alternative employment; and the poor had not the means, even if they had had the desire, to emigrate. The growth of population was checked by the refusal of the landlords to build cottages for fear of bringing more poor on the rates, for by the Acts of Elizabeth's reign each parish had to maintain and relieve its own paupers.

On the other hand, agriculture was fostered by the State. The importation of foreign corn, except when it was at famine prices, had been prohibited in Charles II.'s reign, and in 1689 a bounty of five shillings per quarter was given on the export of home-grown corn when the price fell below forty-eight shillings per quarter; so that the farmers had a monopoly of the home market, and every effort was made to ensure them an adequate return for their produce. This State support was, no doubt, partly due to the influence of the landed classes in Parliament, but behind it also lay the desire to strengthen the nation by enabling it to feed itself; and by maintaining a sturdy peasantry to provide a potential reservoir of man-power in case of war.

The Peasantry and Yeomanry

A few of the peasantry got some smattering of education from local endowed schools or from the parson of the parish, but the great majority were entirely illiterate. For news of the outside world they depended upon the parson's Sunday sermon, on vagrants who all acted as news-carriers and gossipmongers, and on the various itinerant vendors who besieged their doors. On the main roads they could see the great coaches of the nobility passing, or even the huge train of the king or queen on royal progress; and if they lived near a market town they could go to the inn to stare at the great guests, the assemblies of the justices of the peace, the quack doctors who toured the country, the recruiting officers,

or batches of prisoners on their way to some distant assize court.

There is plenty of evidence to show that the peasantry were better off than the corresponding class on the Continent. Bishop Burnet wrote of them that they were "much the happiest and live the easiest and most plentifully of any that ever I saw." They had a liberal diet. There was a big choice of vegetables, though potatoes were seldom used, and also a general plenty of fish and poultry. Meat was more scarce, but the majority ate it at least once a week. In winter fresh meat was rare, for the practice of growing turnips and other root crops to feed cattle in the winter months had not yet come in, and consequently nearly all the beasts were killed off and salted down in November. These animals were thin and half starved for want of proper nourishment, and were scarcely more than half the weight of modern oxen and sheep. It was said of the sheep of those days that their skin rattled on their ribs as though they were skeletons covered with parchment, and it was not until Bakewell and others taught scientific stock-rearing for food production that the modern flesh-yielding animal was evolved. Foreign observers noted the English love of pudding, made in fifty different ways, which one Frenchman described as "a manna that hits the palate of all sorts of people." In poorer households bread was usually made of rye, barley, or oats, though wheat was being increasingly used for the purpose. All the poor drank beer at all meals, and most of it was home-brewed. Tea and coffee were still too dear for popular consumption. Breakfast in the ordinary cottage household would consist of beer, oatcakes or bread, and possibly cold meat. Dinner was about two o'clock, except for the rich, who postponed it until four, and even in well-to-do houses it usually consisted of two courses only—fish or meat, and pudding. But our ancestors did full justice to their simple fare. Paul Misson, who was in England in William III.'s reign, wrote: "The English eat a great

deal at dinner. They rest awhile, and to it again till they have quite stuff'd their paunch. . . . I always heard they were great flesh-eaters, and I found it true." A light supper in the evening closed the day.

The yeomanry differed only from the peasantry in their greater wealth and independence. Most of them were ignorant, and seldom went farther afield than the nearest market town. Their time passed in farming, in hunting foxes, hares, and others, occasionally in angling, and almost invariably in drinking. At election times they became very important, for the forty-shilling freeholders who enjoyed the franchise were few in number and their votes were valuable. Naturally this produced great corruption: the buying of votes, and the more subtle persuasiveness of a torrent of free ale.

The Squirearchy

The squire was the chief figure in the village which he ruled with paternal sway, for, as well as being the lord of the manor, he was usually a J.P., and held a commission in the militia. The education which the majority of them obtained does not appear to have been very satisfactory. Burnet describes them as "the worst instructed and the least knowing of any of their rank I ever went amongst." The children from the hall were first instructed by a tutor or by the local parson, and then passed on to a neighbouring grammar school, or to one of the large public schools like Eton. Those who proceeded to Oxford or Cambridge went into residence very young—fourteen or fifteen was the usual age—and their tutors had to watch over their morals and manage their finances for them as well as instruct. Education was still severely classical, the object being to produce an accomplished speaker and writer of Latin. Mathematics and science were taught to a lesser degree, but such subjects as history, English, or geography were largely neglected. Among the wealthy more stress was laid on music and singing, dancing, riding

and fencing, than on book learning. From the university it was customary for rich men's sons to go to one of the London inns for a law course to fit them for their prospective duties as J.P.'s, but the time was often spent idly and viciously. Those who could afford to do so then proceeded on the grand tour through France or up the Rhine to Italy. The younger sons of the family went into the Church or commerce, and many of them became merchants abroad for the great companies. Girls were nearly always educated at home, though a few boarding schools for them did exist. They were taught needlework, dancing, music, the keeping of accounts, and were, generally speaking, trained to be housewives. Bluestockings were almost unknown. They were also instructed by their mother in the art of concocting cordials and medicinal preparations—for the squire's lady was expected to doctor the whole village.

Naturally the squires differed greatly in character, but that some of them did the duties of their station willingly and well we know from Addison's famous portrait of Sir Roger de Coverley, who kept open house at Christmas, distributed meat and drink in the parish, and loved to see the whole village make merry in his great hall. Much of their time would be taken up by visits to the county town for the assizes, quarter sessions, elections, parades of the militia, or to escort their wives and daughters to the shops or fairs. In these county towns, and especially in Exeter, Shrewsbury, and York, which served as little capitals for their respective districts, there was plenty of social life. Some families had houses in them and lived there during the winter. The habit was just coming in, also, of making an annual visit to London.

The food on the squire's table would be plentiful but plain. He and his guests might eat off porcelain, but his children and servants would use pewter or wooden vessels. Glass was just coming in for ornament and general table use, though leather bottles were still common. On the other hand there would be a pro-

fusion of silver plate, for this was the invariable sign of a man's opulence. Fruit seems to have been scarce, but wine, either from France, Italy, Portugal, or Hungary (Tokay), was drunk in huge quantities. Inebriety was one of the most characteristic vices of the period. Even the austere William III. occasionally fell before the temptation of the bottle, Addison had an immoderate partiality for it, St. John refreshed himself with copious draughts of champagne and Burgundy, and Harley was often fuddled even when he went into the presence of Queen Anne—an insult which she was perhaps the more ready to condone because her own husband, Prince George of Denmark, was not infrequently in the same condition. Deep potations invariably followed the withdrawal of the ladies from the table, and it was almost a point of honour that no male guest should leave a house sober. This hard drinking produced all the gout and stone of which the age complained, and made old men of those who were still middle-aged.

The squire's house would probably be furnished with the grotesquely carved Jacobean oak pieces of his parents or grandparents, but if he was opulent and followed the fashions he would have walnut furniture, often pollarded, and of lighter and more dignified designs based on Flemish models which came in with William III. Cabriole legs were a novelty introduced in Queen Anne's reign. Lacquered furniture and marquetry work—both of which were derived from the East—were very popular, and the latter was used extensively to adorn the grandfather clocks which were in great vogue during the period. In large houses the walls were hung with tapestries, damasks, or velvets, but sometimes they were wainscoted and painted, and the use of wall-paper was rapidly spreading. On the wall the squire might have his portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller, the great painter of the day, for which he would have to pay about sixty guineas, but he would not possess any of Grinling Gibbons's carving or of

Verrio's allegorical ceilings and mural decorations. These were only to be seen in such palatial residences as Chatsworth.

Gardens were laid out in the French style with elaborate parterres, terraces, statuary and topiary work; and orangeries, long straight walks, clipped yew trees, and handsome iron gates were all popular. There was no landscape gardening, for there was little appreciation of wild nature.

In the village church the squire was usually supreme. The people would be kept waiting in the churchyard and the bell ringing until he appeared, the length of the sermon was regulated by his views on the subject, and when service was over he stalked out from the family pew through a lane of bowing tenants and dependents. The parson was nearly always his nominee, and was a frequent visitor to the hall to dine or make up a hand of cards. The treatment of the clergy in their patrons' houses varied considerably. Some were accepted as friends and equals, and perhaps sent to travel with the children of the family; but in other homes they were snubbed, made to leave the table before the pudding appeared, and were constantly being reminded of their supposed social inferiority. Stipends were poor. Some had as little as five pounds a year, and from fifty to a hundred pounds was the average. Worldliness and spiritual torpor made rapid headway. Non-residence and pluralities were common, churches were neglected, the services were scurried through, and the poor were taught practically no religion. Yet a taste for long sermons seems to have been one of the prevailing features of the time. In the pulpits there stood an hour-glass, and when such a preacher as Bishop Burnet turned it over to continue his discourse for a second hour a low hum of approval would rise from the congregation.

Sport, Dress, Manners, and Morals

Sport was almost as varied then as now. Horse-racing was extensively practised, and especially at Newmarket, where Queen Anne—who kept her own racehorses—was a frequent visitor. Hunting was a regular pastime with all who could afford it. Cricket was popular, and football was played in the town and village streets. All who wished could join in, and the game became little more than a free fight to carry the ball forward and gain territory from the opposing crowd. Bowling, tennis, and billiards were all known, though the last was played with only two balls, and a differently shaped cue from that used to-day. The brutal sports of cock-fighting and bull-baiting were in great favour, but more educated people were beginning to condemn the latter, and the cultured French despised their neighbours for it. At home there were the card tables, books for the scholarly, and singing, dancing, and music on organs, spinets, harpsichords, flutes, lutes, and violins. Probably, if we could have gone into any of the cultured homes of the day, we should have heard wife or daughters playing some of the music of the great composer, Henry Purcell, who died in 1695.

Dress was much more elaborate than it is to-day. For men it was the great age of wigs, worn over closely cropped hair, and generally powdered white. As much as forty guineas could be paid for one of these adornments, and the beau of the period laid great emphasis upon his wig, which he frequently combed in public in the theatres or taverns. Hats were of felt, low in the crown, with broad brims looped up, and they were usually black, though sometimes they were trimmed with gold or silver lace or feathers. An elaborate neckcloth with laced or fringed ends took the place of the modern collar. Waistcoats were very long, reaching almost to the knees, and were worn open at the top by young men to display their fine holland shirts, a practice which was said to have a devastating effect upon the

other sex. Coats were gorgeous affairs, handsomely embroidered on the edges, seams, and pockets. They were generally lined with silk, had gold or silver buttons, and the skirt was wired to make it stick out. Plain knee-breeches, silk or woollen stockings, usually black, and buckled shoes, sometimes with red heels, completed the attire. Gloves and muffs were carried by men, and a sword was absolutely indispensable. Umbrellas were known, but were considered effeminate, and a cloth coat or cloak was used for protection against the weather.

On ceremonial occasions women wore what was called a "commode" on the head, consisting of a wire frame supporting folds or frills of muslin or lace piled up to a varying height according to the vagaries of fashion. When this went out scarves and hoods of different colours were worn over the hair, the coiffure of which was rolled in a style based on classical models. It was the day of tight lacing and bodices cut very low, which were sometimes left open in front to show the tight stays beneath. Skirts were severely long, and very full. False hips were used to improve the figure before the introduction of the hooped petticoat made of whalebone about 1709. Sometimes an apron with ornamental frills was worn in front of the skirt, and sometimes the skirt itself was open in front to reveal the rich petticoat below. Paint, powder, lip salve, hair dye, and patching were all popular, furs were worn, and spectacles, often with horn rims and frames, were used by both sexes.

Travellers were impressed by the fine physique and healthy appearance of the people of England. One Frenchman wrote of them: "The inhabitants of this country are for the most part well made and finely shap'd; above all, their complexions are so fresh and of such a lively colour, that at first sight one would take them to be painted, not as formerly with blew or other colours proper to create terror, but with lilies and roses to excite love and admiration." A Swiss observer

described the English as good-natured, very rich, and so well nourished that they sometimes died of obesity. Their love of children was also commented upon. Misson said: "They have an extraordinary regard in England for young children, always flattering, always caressing, always applauding what they do." Yet they were not spoilt, but were often whipped even when they were quite tiny. Another trait Misson noted was a love of fighting. "Anything," he wrote, "that looks like fighting is delicious to an Englishman. If two boys quarrel in the street, the passengers stop, make a ring around them in a moment, and set them against one another that they may come to fisticuffs."

Manners were more formal then than now. Children, outwardly at least, treated their parents with great deference, and would kneel to secure their blessing. Even a great nobleman would kneel for the same purpose before a bishop. It was the day of the stately bow and graceful courtesy, and gallantry both in speech and behaviour; and all social life was distinguished by an elegant, if formal, deportment.

Unfortunately cleanliness of person did not keep pace with polish of manner. Even fine ladies used a good deal more paint, powder, and scent than they did soap, and men tended to regard a bath as effeminate. Table manners were distinctly primitive. "Belching at table," Misson declared, was as common as coughing and sneezing, and books on etiquette found it necessary to warn readers not to pick their teeth with their knife and fork. An even more disgusting habit was the taking of snuff at meal times by both sexes. Steele complained that the ladies disgusted him "with this filthy physick hanging on the lip," and that at meal times an upper lip daubed with a mixture of snuff and sauce did not enhance their charm. But some of the men went one better than this by shovelling the snuff into their nostrils on a spoon.

The moral tone of society was low, and the laxity of conduct which both sexes allowed themselves was the

constant complaint of moralists. A restless spirit of gambling permeated all classes, and many a good estate was beggared at the card tables. Proclamations had frequently to be issued against profanation of the Lord's Day, swearing, drunkenness, immorality, and other "lewd, enormous and disorderly practises"; and societies for the reformation of manners were formed to combat these social evils by means of lecturing, and by informing against offenders; but they had little effect. The marriage bond sat as lightly upon those who had accepted it as did the obligation of chastity upon the single, and adultery became, at worst, a venial offence. This, perhaps, was partly due to the manner in which marriages were made. They were mainly a matter of settlement and balancing of estates between the parents, often begun while the parties most intimately concerned were still in the nursery; and even cases of child marriages, which were consummated, were not unknown. Divorce was impossible except by private Act of Parliament, and only a male could obtain it. Added to this, women were given an unusual degree of liberty. "England," said a Dutch traveller, "is the paradise of married women."

Travel

There were no aeroplanes, motors, or railways in those days, and practically no canals. The sole means of communication were the roads, and the only method of locomotion was on foot or by animal traction. The roads resembled the farm cart tracks, which can still occasionally be seen winding across the fields. They were narrow, generally unfenced, and had no proper surface. Under laws of Henry VIII.'s reign the inhabitants of each parish were responsible for the upkeep of their own roads, but these statutes were largely evaded. In summer the roads were inches thick in the dust of powdered stones and soil; in spring and autumn they were ploughed up by the traffic into deep ruts which filled with water, and were very liable to

overturn a coach (even Charles II. was obliged to do a somersault in his coach on one occasion) ; and in winter they became one huge morass of mud, so that it was often impossible to see where the road ended and the side fields began. Trees and shrubs grew at random, and it was no uncommon thing for men of rank to send on footmen in advance of their coach with axes to remove overhanging branches on the route.

In the south some better roads had been constructed under Turnpike Acts since 1663, and on these quicker travelling was possible. What were called "flying coaches"—travelling at an average of about five miles per hour—could do as much as eighty miles in a day. Gloucester (eighty-two miles) was reached from London in one day, and Exeter, Chester, and York in four. West of Exeter and north of York the roads virtually ceased to exist, and all goods had to be carried on pack-horses, travellers also being obliged to take to horseback. A slower method of transport was the great stage-wagon, carrying from twenty to thirty passengers as well as goods, which jolted along at a slow pace, taking ten days to go, for instance, between London and Lancashire. Rich men had their own coaches, most of which were drawn by six horses ; and this was not due to ostentation but to necessity, for even with such a large team the vehicle would often stick in the mud, and it frequently took two or three hours to traverse as many miles. Conveyances were sometimes overturned completely, and broken axles or wheels coming off were a regular occurrence.

Travelling under such conditions was naturally not very comfortable. Even in London one writer complained that people in a coach were "jumbled about like so many peas in a child's rattle" ; and all who had the health to stand it preferred to travel on horseback, the women riding pillion. Post-houses existed on all the main roads, and were obliged by law to provide horses for all to ride or drive, and also guides. The English were noted for their hard riding, an Italian



THE COUNTRY INN YARD.
(From an engraving after the painting by Hogarth.)

proverb describing the country as "the hell of horses," and fifty to sixty miles per day, and sometimes even a hundred, were covered on horseback. Horse-litters also were sometimes used by invalids.

In the majority of roadside inns good food and attention and clean linen could be obtained, but there was little privacy except for the very rich, for bedrooms were frequently shared even by complete strangers. Some of the inns, as we can gather from Fielding's novels, were not too careful about their moral reputation, and occasionally the innkeeper would be in league with a neighbouring highwayman. A favourite trick played on the thoughtless traveller was to charge for his horse's provender and then not give it to the unfortunate animal.

All sorts of people thronged the roads. Pedlars, vagrants, gipsies, an occasional country doctor going his round on horseback, a cavalcade of judges and barristers riding their circuit, sometimes a sad little group of mourners with the body of a loved one strapped to a board on a horse's back. Gangs of ruffians and footpads were common, but the most picturesque figures of all were the famous highwaymen, and their robberies were at their worst under William III. In 1692 all the tax money from the northern counties was stolen in Hertfordshire, and £15,000 was taken from seven western coaches. These gentlemen of the road were often recruited from the ne'er-do-wells of great families. The Verneys of Buckinghamshire contributed one in this period. Usually they contented themselves with taking or killing the horses of travellers to prevent pursuit, but those who showed fight when attacked naturally did so at the peril of their lives. Most of the fraternity ended their days on the gallows, but the atmosphere of adventure and romance which seemed to envelop their brief careers made the public regard them with lenient, almost admiring, eyes in spite of their depredations, and some became little short of popular heroes. The best known among them did not

flourish until a rather later period—Jack Sheppard was hanged in 1724 and the notorious Dick Turpin in 1739.

From the ports there were services of packet boats to Calais, Holland, Ireland, Spain, Portugal, North America, and the West Indies, but most of them were tiny vessels of a hundred tons or under, and they were often held up for weeks by bad weather. A sea voyage was always an adventure, not only because of the danger from storms or shipwreck, but because the water swarmed with pirates. Even the dreaded corsairs of Algiers and Tripoli were sometimes seen in the Channel and the Irish Sea.

London

London was then, as now, the great centre of social life, but it was very different from the capital of to-day. The streets were narrow, badly paved, filthily dirty, and with open gutters running along them which became torrents in wet weather. By law everybody had to cleanse the areas in front of their houses, and were responsible for the upkeep of the pavements, but all this was more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Huge holes gaped in the pavement for the unwary at night, and household garbage was regularly tossed into the street. From the overhanging balconies busy housewives flung their slops, and the projecting spouts and gutters discharged their contents on to the pavements beneath.

An interesting crowd jostled in these ill-kept streets, and the scene was a gay one. Besides the coaches which stood for hire at nearly every street corner and the popular sedan-chairs, shoeblacks, oyster-wenches, milkmaids, chimney-sweeps, hawkers, jugglers, Quakers in distinctive hoods, parsons and lawyers in their gowns, gorgeous footmen in crimson or orange all mingled on the pavements; and the air resounded with the quaint street cries of the various itinerant vendors. Nearly all the shops had elaborate painted signs hung outside on handsome iron supports. They turned the streets of

old London into a riot of colour and fantastic carving, though their purpose was not primarily spectacular, but to depict the type of business done to a populace the great majority of whom could not have read the written word.

At night the streets were lit by oil lamps before every tenth door from 6 p.m. to midnight on moonless nights only between Michaelmas and Lady Day. It was dangerous to wander far in the dark, for thieves abounded ready to snatch sword, wig, watch, snuff-box, or anything else of value. There were no police, and the watchmen, armed with long staff and lantern, were usually old and decrepit men, and were more frequently to be discovered tipling in some favourite tavern than going their prescribed rounds. Roystering and hooliganism were rampant, and many of the delinquents were young men of good family who paraded the streets mad with wine, smashing windows, destroying shop signs, and assaulting all whom they encountered. People went about at night in armed parties for protection, and Sir Roger de Coverley had to put on his sword and arm his servants with stout clubs before he dare sally forth to the theatre.

The coffee-house was one of the most popular institutions of the day, and three thousand of them were said to exist in London. In them a cup of coffee could be obtained for a penny, and a jovial spirit of freemasonry existed: a peer might rub shoulders with a highwayman, but all were equal. Some went there simply in the Pepysian sense to hear news, to gossip, and to observe their fellows; others made them a rendezvous for appointments or for doing business; while some, no doubt, were attracted by "the handsome Phyllis or two" who served them. The doctors, lawyers, and literary men all had their own particular houses which they patronized. Merchants and shipowners frequented Lloyd's in Lombard Street, and already this coffee-house was established as the centre of that marine insurance and underwriting out of which has grown the great

mercantile insurance company of Lloyd's that is a household word to-day.

Strangers in London were taken to see the lions and other animals exhibited in the Tower, the tombs in Westminster Abbey, and the lunatics in Bedlam—as the Bethlehem Hospital was called. There were also the Royal Exchange, the London Stone, London Bridge, and the shops—which were considered almost unequalled in the world—to inspect. Frequent ceremonial processions were also to be seen. The Lord Mayor's Show was an annual event, and a more boisterous one than it is to-day ; the sovereign was often to be seen driving in state to the Guildhall to dine with the city fathers, or to St. Paul's to render thanks for some recovery from illness or some new victory over the French ; and new ambassadors always made an imposing state entry. Then there were the three great fairs : Bartholomew Fair, May Fair, and Southwark Fair, with all their various sideshows—though these were very disorderly and licentious. May Fair, indeed, became so bad that it had to be abolished in 1709. Another popular sight was to go out to Tyburn to see the execution of criminals, and even men of refinement and culture (like the gentle Evelyn) watched the procession of the condemned to the gallows and the ghastly operations which followed far more impassively than most people to-day would witness the felling and dismemberment of an ox. Criminals were driven from prison to execution in a cart, tied to their coffin and with halters round their necks. Traitors had no coffin because, after being hanged and disembowelled, they were cut up into quarters which were then displayed on spikes at Temple Bar. The condemned went to execution in their best clothes, with white gloves and nosegays, and the crowd cheered those who went boldly. Generally they were given a stiff dose of brandy before starting. As there was no drop to dislocate the necks of those who were hanged death was rather slow and painful, but relatives and friends were sometimes allowed to pull the hanging



THE FLEET PRISON IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
(From a print of 1691.)

man by the legs or beat his chest to hasten the end. Women guilty of treason, murder, or false coining, were still burnt alive at the stake, though usually they were at least half strangled before the fire touched them. For minor offences both men and women were whipped through the streets behind a cart, or else put in the pillory, where they were often injured and occasionally slain by the rough treatment of the mob.

For indoor amusement in London there was a wax-works kept by a Mrs. Salmon, a puppet show in Covent Garden, and four theatres—Dorset Gardens in Fleet Street, which was demolished in 1709; Lincoln's Inn Fields; Drury Lane; and, most fashionable of all, the Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket, built in 1704. The interiors of these theatres were similar to those of to-day, with a pit and several galleries, the top one of which was usually occupied by the footmen of the people of quality who sat in the pit or first circle. The candle-snuffers and the orange-women, of whom Nell Gwynne had been one, were familiar figures in all the theatres. Most of the plays performed were tainted with the obscenity which had been the fashion since Charles II.'s reign. Voices were not wanting, notably those of Jeremy Collier, Addison, and Burnet, to protest against this degradation of the stage, but throughout Anne's reign little improvement took place. Nor did the mischief of the theatre end here, for in some of them vice was not only depicted but facilitated, and it was frequently necessary to issue proclamations forbidding any woman to attend the play in a mask, or people of any rank whatever to go behind the stage.

Opera became popular in Anne's reign. At first it was sung in English, but then Italians were brought over to take the leading parts, and finally the whole work was rendered in Italian. In 1710 Handel came to England, and his first opera, *Rinaldo*, was performed at the Queen's Theatre in the following year. Two years later he composed a *Te Deum* for the Peace of Utrecht. Concerts, both vocal and instrumental, were numerous,

not only in London but also in outlying places like Hampstead and Greenwich.

The Spas. Medicine. Death

In summer all society went to the various spas, for the habit of visiting the seaside was as yet unknown. Bath, which was then under the régime of Beau Nash, was the most select resort. Here there was "a concourse of genteel people," with music, gaming, and balls every day; and the immorality as well as the manners of London were only too successfully imitated. At Tunbridge Wells, which had a post and coaches to London every day in the season, there were good buildings, a market, fine shops, two large coffee-houses, and a paved covered walk for wet weather. Epsom Wells was frequented by a lower class of people, and Buxton and Harrogate were mainly patronized by the local gentry. In Buxton the accommodation was particularly poor, for the best tavern had three or four beds in a room, and often put three people in a bed.

The rate of infant mortality was terrible, for growing up was literally little more than a survival of the fittest, and in most families the children passed in sad succession from the cradle to the coffin. Sanitary arrangements were primitive, cleanliness and fresh air were shunned, and fevers and diseases of all kinds took a heavy toll of lives which, with proper care, might have been spared. Consumption killed the most, but it was closely followed by the dread scourge of smallpox, which, as Macaulay graphically described it, "was always present, filling the churchyards with corpses, tormenting with constant fears all whom it had not yet stricken, leaving on those whose lives it spared the hideous traces of its power, turning the babe into a changeling at which the mother shuddered, and making the eyes and cheeks of the betrothed maiden objects of horror to the lover." Young and old, rich and poor, were alike assailed, and whole families were often exterminated. Even the

very throne was not spared, for it was smallpox which killed Queen Mary in 1694. Medical science was still in a primitive condition. Quackery was rampant, and all sorts of "waters" and "pills" were foisted upon the public. Bleeding and purging were the most common remedies, and great use was also made of herbs, but many other strange prescriptions were given. One cure for smallpox consisted of from thirty to forty live toads burnt to black ashes or cinders in a new pot and made into fine powder, which had then to be taken. For convulsions, powdered mistletoe or gorse boiled with damask roses was recommended. In the case of measles a live sheep might be laid in the bed with the patient, because it was supposed to be easily infected and would therefore draw the venom to itself. There were a few hospitals in existence in London—notably "Bart.'s" and St. Thomas's—but throughout the rest of the country practically no provision was made for the ailing poor except what relatives, neighbours, or the squire's wife might afford.

Death was draped in sable pomp. Numerous hatchments were set up, mutes stood within and without the house, the rooms were hung with black, and if a widow was left even the furniture of her bedroom was covered in the same sombre hue. Invitation cards were sent out for the funeral edged with designs of skulls, thigh-bones, scythes, hour-glasses, and other emblems of mortality; and mourning rings with suitable inscriptions, scarves, hat-bands, gloves, and black wax tapers (if the funeral was at night, as was very common) were distributed to the mourners. The body had, under an Act of Charles II.'s reign, to be buried in a woollen shroud—the object being to encourage the English woollen manufactures. Monuments generally took the form of a mural tablet adorned with skulls, draped urns, or weeping cherubs supporting a festoon of drapery, and the inscription was usually in Latin.

It was an age in which the spirit of contentment was widely spread. There was much distress in William

III.'s reign owing to the ill effects of the French wars on trade, and to the bad state of the currency, but conditions improved under Anne, and in spite of the inevitable grumbling against the heavy war taxation the country was prosperous. Trade flourished, the price of staple commodities like corn was low, society became increasingly opulent and luxurious, a rough plenty was available for the peasantry; and, added to this, there was a liberty of action, speech, and writing which amazed Voltaire when he came to England in 1726. Class bitterness scarcely existed. Distinctions of rank were deeper than they are to-day, and in the country especially the squirearchy were the uncrowned kings of their little domains. There was, doubtless, much arrogance and much toadyism, but on the whole cordiality and not hostility marked the relations of the gentry and their tenants or dependents, and there was no sense of conflicting interests. Life was simpler, and if work was harder there was not the same feverish struggle for existence or the same anxiety about the future as there is to-day. It was the dawn of that lull in the stormy march of our history which filled the first half of the eighteenth century—a period when society seemed to have reached an equilibrium, when men could despise the past and disregard the future because the present sufficed for their needs, when, for a few brief decades, time seemed to stop and the existing order to be stabilized in a manner which tempts the denizens of these more troubled days to envy those who dwelt in such a halcyon interlude. The constitutional and religious problems of the seventeenth century had vanished, the economic and social problems of the industrial revolution were still unborn, and for half a century England enjoyed a quiet happiness, if the secret of that elusive boon for nations be, as Seneca said, to have no history.

Chapter II

THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT

William of Orange, and the Flight of James II

THE reign of King James II. ended when he fled secretly from Whitehall in the early hours of December 11, 1688, with the intention of following his wife and infant son to France. Betrayed and deserted by those in whom he had placed implicit faith, his resolution, and even his courage, collapsed as his authority crumbled rapidly to nothing before the mere presence of the Prince of Orange ; and in six short weeks the king, who had gone to Salisbury to fight for his crown, was reduced to a trembling fugitive. For himself and for his family the flight was disastrous, and historians have not spared their censure of this ignominious desertion of a great heritage. Yet it is difficult to see what other choice lay open to James. Had he remained in England he might possibly have retained the throne, but only at the cost of retractations and humiliations insupportable by any man of spirit, and least of all by a man like James, with a double measure of Stuart pride and obstinacy in his nature. To abdicate was equally impossible, for his infant son was generally held to be supposititious, and to resign the crown in favour of his elder daughter, Mary, was simply to surrender unconditionally to his destroyer, William of Orange, who was her husband. James had failed as a king, and had been signally rejected by the majority of his people, and a dignified withdrawal would have been the best close to his reign. But unfortunately his flight was anything but dignified,

for it was accompanied by visible proofs of petty rancour, and of a small-minded determination to be revenged which extended almost to the point of futility. Before quitting London he carefully burnt the writs which had been drawn up for the summoning of a new Parliament, so that they should not be used after his departure ; he threw the Great Seal into the Thames in the hope of paralysing the whole machinery of justice ; he left no provision for any legal government during his absence ; and he wrote to the Earl of Feversham ordering him to disband the army, thus turning adrift thousands of armed men, many of them dissolute and penniless, at the very time when no adequate administration existed to safeguard the public.

London awoke in the morning to find that the king had gone, and that the country was without a Government. The crisis was too acute for party divisions to show themselves, and both Whigs and Tories united in declaring for William.

Those peers who happened to be in London met at the Guildhall under the presidency of Sancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and issued a declaration inviting the Prince of Orange to come to London to undertake the control of the Government until Parliament could meet and establish a lasting settlement. Meanwhile they assumed administrative functions, but they had no force to back their authority, and their weakness was soon revealed when a mob collected and, under the specious cry of "No Popery," proceeded to attack the chapels and houses of the Roman Catholics in the city, plundering or burning their contents, and forcing the authorities to fling their occupants into prison.

Amidst such disorder the arrival of William was anxiously awaited. Neither in person nor in manner had the man to whom Englishmen thus turned when their own monarch failed them anything heroic about him. His thin, shrunken body, his cadaverous face, his pallid lips pressed firmly together in the peevish

expression of the confirmed invalid, and a cough which racked his whole frame, told only too clearly their tale of a life of wretched health and physical suffering. Two features alone revealed something of the fiery soul which inhabited this frail tenement of clay. His nose was aquiline, and lent to him the same sense of dignity and awe as Chatham's famous beak inspired in a later generation; and above it his eyes glittered with a brightness which was not purely physical.

His behaviour was equally lacking in those kingly attributes which make for popularity. Born and nur-



A MEDAL OF 1690, COMMEMORATING THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

tured amidst adversity and intrigue, he had learnt as a boy to bridle his tongue and mask his real feelings behind an impenetrable wall of feigned indifference. "Few men," said one who knew him well, "had the art of concealing and governing passion more than he had, yet few men had stronger passions." * To all but his most intimate circle of friends he was habitually cold, reserved, almost sullen in his manner, and prone to a dry and withering sarcasm which reflected his cynical view of human nature. It was characteristic

* Burnet, *History of His Own Times* Vol. III., p. 423 (1809 edition).

of the man that when all London was lined up in the streets to greet him as the preserver of the nation's liberty he should slip into St. James's Palace unobserved, by a back way, and by way of comment on the fervour of his new subjects coldly remark: "Here the cry is all 'Hosannah' to-day, and will, perhaps, be 'Crucify him' to-morrow." The fact that he was a foreigner would alone have sufficed to prejudice his chances of popularity among a people who were so intensely insular in their attitude to the stranger as the Englishmen of that day, and unfortunately William lacked every accomplish-



A MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE DEPARTURE OF JAMES II. :
THE BREAKING OF THE OAK, AND THE FLOURISHING
OF THE ORANGE TREE.

ment which might have mitigated this initial impediment. He was imperious, almost autocratic, by temperament, and would not stoop to court the populace; his acerbities too often offended his courtiers; he had neither the health nor the inclination to enjoy the pageantry of the throne or to win a personal popularity such as had endeared the worthless "Merrie Monarch" to his people; he had no knowledge of, or interest in, literature and art, and cared little for the polite accomplishments of society; above all—and this is the most important factor in his life—he did not come to England

primarily for the sake of England, or win her for herself alone. To him she was, and always remained, not an end in herself, but a means to an ulterior aim. That aim, which was woven into the very core of his character, was the subjection of France. He was essentially a man with a mission, and his mission was to resist the aggressions of Louis XIV. at all times and in all places. This unwavering opposition to French aggrandisement gives unity to his whole life and explains every incident in it, for as a boy he learnt to hate the tyrant who had tried to despoil his native land, and, with that tenacity which was one of the outstanding features of his disposition, he never forgot and never forgave. He stepped into power in Holland as the opponent of Louis in 1672, and henceforward became the mainspring of every alliance or coalition against France; and it was as a European statesman, who wanted English men, money, and ships to cast into the balance against France, that William came to England in 1688 and aspired to wear the English crown. The preservation of English liberty afforded the opportunity and the excuse, but for him the main objective was to secure the aid of England in the new struggle with France which was just beginning. To ignore this is to misunderstand his character and the events of his reign.

It was in the pursuit of this great end that William revealed the finer qualities of his nature. His personal courage was never questioned, and to the careless bravery of the *beau sabreur* on the battlefield he added all the gifts of statesmanship at the council table. He was prudent, far-seeing and resourceful, imperturbable in a crisis and stoical under disaster, tolerant of half-hearted councillors, of timorous or treacherous servants, patient under delay, resistance, or disappointment so long as he saw any hope of furthering the great object he always had in view. Even the pride and stubborn temper which lay beneath his cold demeanour was subdued in the service of his life's mission, and he suffered humiliations and insults in silence rather than

forgo his great purpose. In the world of diplomacy and international statesmanship he was supreme. "The Prince of Orange is master," said Pope Innocent XII. "He governs us all." In religion he was a devout Calvinist, but his belief was devoid of all bigotry, and he consistently maintained and practised the broadest principle of toleration. One of his first acts on landing in England was to give orders that the Catholics should be protected from all molestation. This was only one proof of the general clemency of his character. He was never cruel or vengeful, and never permitted his sense of justice to be swayed by considerations of religious belief, of party tactics, or of personal dislike.

But such gifts were hardly likely to capture the public imagination. Superficially he was not a man to inspire affection, except among that small circle of chosen friends, where, like the younger Pitt a century later, he could drop the frowning mask he wore in public, and become frank, genial, and at times convivial. To his new subjects he remained to the end of his life an efficient but almost soulless man of affairs, a stern and unsociable alien whose reign was a regrettable necessity. Yet in the light of history his lack of spectacular qualities vanishes before the sterling worth of his real character, and few will deny him the right to be ranked among the select company of the great. For vigour, ability, courage, sagacity, tolerance, and a broad-minded sanity which was often ahead of his age he has had few peers upon this or any other throne, and it was to be the tragedy of his reign that in spite of all the exalted gifts he brought to the service of the English people he failed to win their love, and received only a grudging measure of respect.

For the present, however, all this lay in the future, and London was ready to greet him as a hero raised up by Providence to rescue English liberty from the tyranny of his father-in-law. When he received the invitation of the lords he at once cancelled an earlier arrangement to go to Oxford, and determined to enter London im-



THE EMBARKATION OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE FOR ENGLAND, 1688.
(*From a contemporary print.*)

mediately ; but he was delayed by the fact that the country between Hungerford, where he was, and the capital swarmed with Feversham's disbanded troops, and before he dare penetrate this dangerous district the unwelcome news arrived that King James had been seized by some fishermen off the Kentish coast, forced to land again, and was now a prisoner in the residence of the Earl of Winchelsea. As soon as they received the information the peers sent a detachment of guards under Lord Feversham to protect the king and to set him at liberty from the mob which was guarding him. James thereupon determined to return to London and treat with Orange ; and on 15th December he re-entered the city. To his intense surprise and delight he was received with bells, bonfires, and cheers by a fickle crowd whose pity had been aroused by the tale of the indignities he had suffered from his captors in Kent. From Rochester he had already sent Feversham to William asking for a personal interview, and offering to hand over St. James's Palace for the reception of the prince.

To William the news that James was still in England was very unpalatable, for his difficulties immediately became more complicated. Had James got away he would have had no supporters left, for, as Burnet said, "all would have agreed that here was a desertion and that therefore the nation was free and at liberty to secure itself." On his return a large party at once withdrew their support from William, and it was significant of this change of attitude that Sancroft ceased to attend the meetings of the lords as soon as he heard of the king's return. The Tories were too deeply saturated with the doctrine of the sinfulness of all resistance to the monarch to support a revolt except in the most desperate circumstances, and the failure of James's flight gave the more extreme among them the chance to revert to a principle which had been shaken by his disappearance. William saw that henceforth he could not count on the undivided support of the whole nation,

and that to threaten any violence against James would be disastrous, since it would only drive over into his camp all those who would naturally resent the spectacle of an English king being dragooned by a Dutchman and his foreign troops. Fortunately for himself he could still rely upon the timorous nature of James, and he resolved to drive him to a second flight by a politic pretence of severity. Feversham was placed under arrest for having no passport when he arrived at Windsor, and Lords Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere were sent to order James to retire from London to Ham.* The same evening Dutch troops replaced the Coldstream Guards at Whitehall, and James became virtually a prisoner in his own palace (17th December). Alarmed by these measures, and fearful for his own safety, he begged that he might be permitted to return to Rochester rather than go to Ham. William readily consented to a request which showed that James was already meditating another flight, and on the 18th the king sailed down the river, surrounded by Dutch soldiers, and quitted his capital for the last time. A few hours later William arrived at St. James's Palace.

For the next five days everything remained in a condition of uncertainty. While many of the Whigs urged William to assume the crown without delay and without further warrant than the success of his invasion, the Tories refused to withdraw their allegiance from James so long as he remained in England, and they opened communications with him at Rochester in the hope of securing warrants from him for the summoning of a new Parliament to which all might be referred. But William was wise enough to realize that it would be fatal to his cause to repudiate the promise made in the declaration he had issued before sailing from Holland, and to claim the throne by mere right of conquest; and in a few days his patience was rewarded and his difficulties removed by the second flight of

* Ham was a villa near Richmond belonging to the Earl of Lauderdale.

James. Unnerved by his condition, importuned by his wife who was already in France, and still obstinate enough to reject the idea of submitting to the inevitable coercion if he remained, the unhappy monarch resolved to escape once more. It was above all things what William desired, and this time he took good care that no unforeseen difficulties should impede the king's flight. The guards at Rochester were so placed as to render access to the river free and unobserved, and on the night of 22nd-23rd December, James took advantage of this apparent laxity and boarded a ship which lay in the Thames. Three days later he landed in France, and began that exile at Saint Germain which ended only with his life.

The Convention Parliament

The disappearance of James made a constitutional revolution inevitable, since there was now no authority in the country by which Parliament could legally be summoned; and it handed over to William and to the Whigs the control of that revolution, for after the flight of the king the Tories had no choice but to concur in proposals which ran counter to their cherished tenets of loyalty and non-resistance. They were, in fact, in a cruel and false position. For years they had exalted the royal prerogative only to find that prerogative exercised by King James in favour of their most bitter opponents, the Catholics and the Nonconformists.* For years they had taught the duty of passive obedience and of non-resistance only to find themselves at length goaded into disobedience and revolt by the prince whom they venerated. For years they had held the doctrine of indefeasible hereditary right, and now they were faced by a fugitive king, a fugitive heir whose birth was considered to be doubtful, and a country bereft of all legal government. Not for the last time they were forced by the hard logic of events to escape

* By his Declarations of Indulgence, 1687, 1688.

from the tyranny of their own theory, and the path was a *via dolorosa* to many who had been brought up under the old dispensation. Up to the very end they tried to secure a legal settlement which might save their principles by persuading James to summon a Parliament, but his flight finally forced them to acquiesce reluctantly in the measures of the triumphant Whigs.

In order to obtain some more representative body than the council of peers, William called together as a sort of lower house all those who had sat in the House of Commons during the reign of Charles II., together with the aldermen and common councillors of the city of London. Members of the Parliament of James II. were deliberately excluded, because they were held to have been corruptly elected. This assembly met on 26th December, and at once requested William to undertake the administration of the country until its future destiny was decided by a convention, which he was asked to summon by writing missive letters to the same persons to whom writs were usually issued, authorizing and ordering the election of representatives, so that the new assembly might have all the form of a regularly constituted Parliament. William agreed to these propositions, and summoned a convention to meet on January 22, 1689. He made no effort to influence or to interfere with the elections, but was fully occupied during the interval in introducing some sort of order into the machinery of government, in disposing of the disbanded troops of James's army, and in meeting his many financial obligations. The latter he was enabled to do by a loan of £200,000 offered to him by the councillors of London, and quickly raised among the great merchants of the city.

The convention met on the appointed day, and was opened by the reading of a letter from William desiring its members to provide for the security of the nation's religion, liberty, and laws. He reminded them also of the unsettled state of Ireland and the defenceless condition of Holland, and expressed the hope that they

would go to the help of the Dutch against France. In reply the two Houses thanked him for the deliverance he had wrought, and desired him to continue the administration until their deliberations should provide for the future government of the realm. This great problem they then proceeded to discuss.

In the lower house about two-thirds of the members were Whigs, while in the Lords the Tories had a small majority; but in neither Chamber were the latter so united or as certain of their policy as their opponents. Broadly speaking, the Tories were split into three groups. A small and insignificant number of "die-hards," who clung to the political philosophy of Filmer,* favoured the conditional restoration of James, but apart from the fact that the imposition of any conditions on a legitimate monarch was a violation of true Tory principles, events had already proved conclusively to the majority of the Tories that no conditions whatever could bind a man like James. Most of them adhered to Sancroft's suggestion for a regency, which was based on proposals that had first been made at the time of the exclusion bills. They admitted that James could no longer be trusted with the personal exercise of sovereignty, but they argued that he ought to be treated as though he were a lunatic or a child, and that a regency should be set up to carry on the Government in his name. By thus asserting a moral as well as a physical incapacity for government, and by drawing a distinction between a right to govern and the exercise of that right, they hoped to absolve their own consciences from the sin of rebellion, and to avoid the revolutionary conclusion that the crown might become elective.† It is difficult

* Sir Robert Filmer (c. 1590-1653) in his *Patriarcha*, printed in 1680, had advocated the divine right of kings in its most extreme form.

† The Anglo-Saxon and early Norman kings owed their position, in theory at least, to their election by the Witan; but the principle of hereditary right was generally accepted from about the reign of Richard I. up to the time of the Tudors. Then the older theory of election was revived. Henry VII. claimed the crown by hereditary right, but his legal title was derived from an Act of Parliament, and under his suc-

to contradict Macaulay's verdict that this was a "contemptible sophism," and that the difficulties which it involved were tremendous, but most of the bishops and many of the peers supported it in the hope of reconciling their principles and the necessities of the crisis, while others adhered to the plan because they thought that later it might afford an excuse for restoring James. A third group of Tories, led by the Earl of Danby, which was small but powerful in the House of Lords, maintained that the desertion of James was equivalent to his demise, and that as, according to law, the throne is never vacant, the crown had thereby devolved upon the next heir, Mary, the wife of William (the Prince of Wales being excluded as supposititious), and that the convention had merely to recognize what had already legally occurred.

Among the Whigs only two opinions were visible. A few, descended from the old republican party of Cromwellian days, wanted to seize the opportunity to make the crown absolutely elective, and to reduce the power and prestige of the monarchy; but the great majority combined a belief in the contractual theory of government with a deep-rooted respect for legality and constitutional forms. They held that government was a contract between king and people, accepted by the subject in the oath of allegiance and by the monarch in the coronation oath, and that the executive authority was a trust given by the nation to the king, which might be revoked if it was abused, as it had been by James. Yet although they thus insisted on the responsibility of the king and on the right of the nation to call him to account, and even to depose him if necessary, they still believed in hereditary monarchy, and had no

cessors the right of Parliament to control and alter the line of succession was frequently asserted. The seventeenth century illustrated "the conflict between two views of kingship . . . title by descent and title by choice of Parliament" (Anson, *Law and Custom of the Constitution*, II., Part I, p. 228). The Tories championed the former of these two principles, adding to it the sanction of divine right, while the Whigs adopted the latter as the best means of ensuring the responsibility of the sovereign, and in the struggle over the revolution of 1688 their theory was completely and finally victorious.

wish to make it purely elective, as it was, for example, in Poland. They argued that James had vacated the throne by his flight, and that it was therefore vacant ; but they also agreed, while not accepting it as binding, that it was desirable to keep as near the lineal succession as possible in filling the kingly office again. They were not revolutionaries seeking to impose some theory of popular rights, but practical men who wanted security for the future against popery and arbitrary rule. This they proposed to secure by declaring William king. He was the leader of the Protestant party in Europe ; he had come to the rescue of his co-religionists in England ; if the crown was placed on his head it would finally destroy the pernicious doctrines of divine hereditary right and non-resistance ; arbitrary rule would be impossible on the part of a monarch who owed his throne to the choice of Parliament ; and, at the same time, since William was himself in the direct line of succession after the children of James II., and had married Mary, the next heir if the young Prince of Wales was excluded, the breach with the old principle of hereditary succession would not be fundamental, and some semblance of continuity would be preserved.

In the lower house of the convention the Whigs quickly carried two resolutions defining their ideas. The first of these (28th January) declared " that King James the Second, having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of this kingdom by breaking the original contract between king and people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant." The second resolution (29th January) was " that it hath been found by experience to be inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince." The Lords promptly accepted the latter of these two declarations, but the former, in spite of its careful wording, was too drastic for the

Tory bishops and peers. Supported by Danby and his party they relinquished the idea of a regency, but in the first motion of the Commons they substituted the word "deserted" for "abdicated," and struck out the last clause which declared the throne to be vacant. They were anxious to discountenance any idea that the crown might be elective, but they were ready to accept the fiction that James had deserted his kingly office providing that it was clearly understood that his act reached no farther than himself, and did not extend to his heirs, who would thus automatically succeed according to the old rule. The rightful successor was not mentioned by them, but the amendment obviously pointed to Mary, since the Prince of Wales was, by common consent, regarded as impossible. The Commons, however, adhered to their original resolution, and a deadlock appeared inevitable. But while the spokesmen on both sides were immersed in a battle of contending mediæval precedents and dry legal technicalities, William and Mary both intervened and cut the gordian knot by publicly announcing their own attitudes to the problem. Mary let it be known that she would refuse to accept the throne unless her husband shared it with her in full power. William sent for Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Danby, and told them that, while he fully recognized the complete liberty of the convention to dispose of the crown as it thought best, he owed it to them and to himself to declare that he would not be regent, nor would he remain in England as consort to his wife. He was ready to accept the throne for life and reign jointly with Mary, otherwise he would retire to Holland again. After this it was obvious that there was no alternative but to accept William and Mary as joint sovereigns, and the lords at once climbed down and consented that the prince and princess should be acknowledged as king and queen (6th February). At the same time they insisted upon an alteration in the oath of allegiance so that it might in future conscientiously be taken by those who had disapproved of what the con-

vention had done, but who were nevertheless willing to acquiesce in the accomplished fact. Henceforward the phrase "rightful and lawful king" disappeared from the oath, and it was reduced to swearing to "be



WILLIAM III.

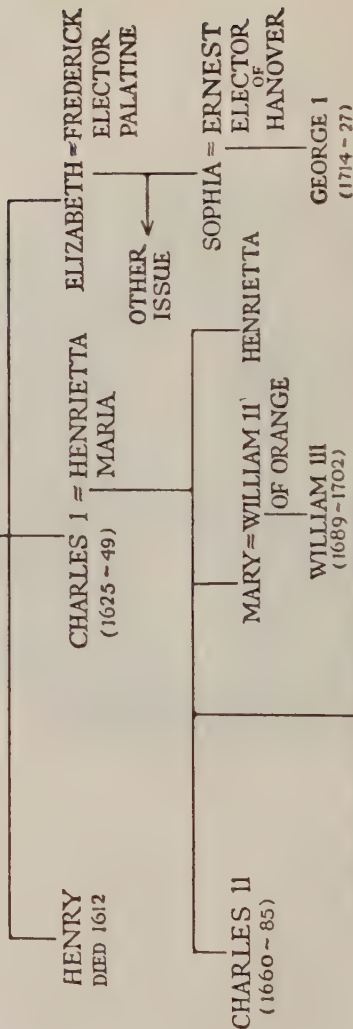
faithful and bear true allegiance," without any reference to the nature or origin of the sovereign's authority.

The Declaration of Rights, and the Constitutional Settlement

It now remained to decide on what terms the crown was to be transferred to the new rulers, for the Whigs

*Genealogical table of the House of Stuart, illustrating the
Hanoverian Succession.*

JAMES I = ANNE OF
(1603 ~ 25) DENMARK



were determined to avoid a repetition of the false settlement which had occurred at the Restoration, and to secure adequate guarantees for the future against a renewal of royal despotism. It soon became apparent that to deal fully with every point raised in the debates would take months or even years, during which the interregnum would have to be prolonged, and it was therefore finally resolved to draw up a short general summary of things necessary for securing the laws and liberties of the nation, and to present it to William and Mary as a declaration of rights inseparably united with the offer of the crown, so that acceptance of the latter would involve recognition of the former, and to leave the provision of more detailed securities for the future. The Declaration of Rights, in which was incorporated the invitation to William and Mary to accept the throne, was largely the work of the young Whig lawyer Somers, and was solemnly presented on 13th February to the prince and princess, who then signified their acceptance of the crown and of the conditions attached to the offer of it.

This famous document began by enumerating the various illegal and arbitrary acts of the late king, and then proceeded to "claime, demand, and insist upon" certain "Auntient Rights and Liberties" which had been violated by King James. It declared that "the pretended power of suspending of laws" by royal authority without consent of Parliament was illegal; that the dispensing power "as it hath beene assumed and exercised of late" was illegal; that levying money without consent of Parliament, and the raising or keeping of a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless with the sanction of Parliament, was against the law; that subjects had a right to petition the king; that the election of members of Parliament ought to be free; that excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted; and that Parliament ought to be held frequently. The Declara-

tion then went on : " Having therefore an intire confidence that his said Highnesse the Prince of Orange will perfect the Deliverance soe farr advanced by him and will still preserve them from the Violation of their Rights which they have here asserted . . . The said Lords Spirituall and Temporall and Commons assembled at Westminster doe resolve that William and Mary, Prince and Princesses of Orange, be and be declared King and Queene of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging." The actual exercise of the royal authority was given to William only. On the decease of the new monarchs the crown was to go to their children, or failing these, to Mary's sister Anne and her heirs. If Anne died first, or left no children, the succession was vested in the children of William by any second marriage which he might make if Mary predeceased him. In conclusion, the Declaration described certain proposed alterations in the oaths of allegiance and supremacy ; but when it was converted into the Bill of Rights (December 1689) two important additions were made. It was then decreed that all who should profess the popish faith or marry a papist should be incapable of inheriting the crown, which was to pass to the next heir being Protestant, and that all future sovereigns at the commencement of their reign were to make a solemn declaration against the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation in the presence of both Houses of Parliament. Thus the monarch was robbed of liberty of conscience at the very moment when his subjects were beginning to obtain it.

On April 11, 1689, William and Mary were solemnly crowned with all the traditional pomp of the coronation ceremony, and the revolution was thus consummated. It was a change " strictly defensive," a movement to preserve and not to initiate, to restore old liberties and not to secure new ones, and it was accomplished in a manner which makes the very name revolution seem misused when applied to it. There were no barricades and no bloodshed, no secret massings of discontented



PRINCESS MARY.

(From the portrait by Lely, in Hampton Court Palace.)

mobs or of soldiery, no enunciation of high-flown popular rights, or of those various slogans of liberty and equality which have seldom failed to inflame light minds to

destroy the order without which neither is possible. None of the usual phenomena of continental revolutions were present. It is true that the English revolution was rendered possible by military invasion, but it was actually carried through by an assembly of men, most of whom were trained in the law and deeply imbued with its spirit, and who had been elected for the purpose with all customary legal forms, save that the writs did not bear the signature of the king which alone could give a legal sanction to their deliberations. They insisted throughout on a strict adherence to the old formalities of a regular Parliament, and their speeches were full of references to law and precedent, and not to general constitutional principles. The debates in the convention read like a decorous conflict of opinion on certain legal and constitutional points, all highly technical and recondite, and a "politic well-wrought veil" * was tacitly flung over everything which might reveal the revolutionary nature of the proceedings.

The same intrinsically conservative spirit was visible in the Declaration of Rights which embodied the results of these deliberations. The assumption underlying all its clauses was that nothing new was being laid down, but that the various liberties claimed were an "entailed inheritance" from the past based on precedent, and not on any theory of natural rights such as the men of the American and French revolutions propounded later. Like Magna Carta it was simply a list of practical remedies dealing with the violation of pre-existent rights by the crown, and it made no pretence of propounding a general statement of constitutional principles either old or new. In theory it left the power and sanctity of the monarch undiminished. No provision was made for the self-government of the nation. The king was not robbed of any of his prerogatives, and still remained in full control of the executive government, while the principle of hereditary descent was strictly maintained. Within that rule the convention had

* The phrase is Burke's.

merely claimed to alter the direction and describe the persons who should succeed. Macaulay thus summarizes this conservative aspect of the revolution: "The change seems small. Not a single flower of the crown was touched. Not a single new right was given to the people. The whole English law, substantive and adjective, was, in the judgment of all the greatest lawyers . . . exactly the same after the revolution as before it. Some controverted points had been decided according to the sense of the best jurists, and there had been a slight deviation from the ordinary course of succession. This was all; and this was enough." * These facts account for the incompleteness of the settlement effected by the Declaration of Rights. In order to preserve the atmosphere of legality and of constitutional continuity a good deal had to be left to future action. No safeguards were provided for the various rights enumerated except the change in the succession, and several important points, including the abolition of the pernicious rule by which judges held their office only at the royal pleasure, and the question of the duration of each Parliament's life, were omitted altogether.

Yet all this respect for precedent and this hesitation to tamper with the Constitution must not be allowed to obscure the fact that the events of 1688 did constitute a revolution in spite of their legal colouring. The convention was a body unrecognized by the law, and although its acts were subsequently ratified by Parliament, that Parliament itself owed its existence to King William and Queen Mary, who had been put on the throne by the convention. Even the most careful observation of precedent could not conceal the actual fact that King James had been deposed by force and King William elected, neither of which acts had any place in the law or spirit of the Constitution as it then existed. They could only draw their validity from that maxim of *salus populi suprema lex* which transcends all other laws; and this appeal to a "paramount . . .

* Macaulay, *History of England*, Vol. III., 1308-10.

hyper-constitutional rule " left its mark upon the position of the sovereign. Henceforward the title of the king was a statutory one, depending upon the enactment of an assembly which was revolutionary in its nature, and all future monarchs drew their authority from this revolutionary settlement. The change naturally robbed the crown of a good deal of its old sanctity. " It broke the spell that had charmed the nation. It cut up by the roots all that theory of indefeasible right, of paramount prerogative, which had put the crown in continual opposition to the people ; " * and by so doing it destroyed much of that reverence which had formerly been accorded to the vicegerents of divine authority. Instead, it substituted the contractual theory of government, and the doctrine that although the sovereign stood outside the law he was not above it and could not overrule it by his prerogative power. It thus finally decided the long constitutional struggle of the seventeenth century between the executive and legislative powers in favour of the latter, so that one may say of it, as Peel said of the Reform Bill of 1832, that it was " a final and irrevocable settlement of a great constitutional question." It is true that no clause of the Declaration of Rights definitely asserted the supremacy of Parliament, but it was none the less implicit in the facts of the revolution. Deprived of any claim to divine hereditary right, drawing their very title from parliamentary enactment, dependent for their annual revenues on parliamentary grant, and fenced in on all sides by rights which steadily restricted their prerogative, the future sovereigns of England were forced to submit to the will of their Parliaments. In this way the revolution not only decided the constitutional problems of the seventeenth century, but also rendered possible the constitutional developments of the future ; for the growth of the cabinet system, of representative government, and finally of democracy in its widest form, all presupposed the responsibility of the executive. But for the events of 1688 it is probable

* Hallam, *Constitutional History of England*, Vol. III., p. 81.

that Englishmen would have had to tread the road of royal autocracy and bloody revolution, as the other peoples of Europe did, before they won complete control of their own destinies. Instead, the later constitutional history of England has been merely a defining and expansion of "that most wise, sober, and considerate declaration" by which the revolution of 1688 was accomplished.

The Religious Settlement

The religious settlement of the revolution was almost as important as the constitutional one, and aroused much more intense feeling. Toleration had first been introduced into England by the Independents during the Commonwealth, though within narrow limits which excluded both Anglicans and Romanists. After the Restoration Churchmen were not likely to accord much liberty to the sectaries who had martyred their king and trampled on their faith, and the fierce statutes of the so-called Clarendon Code against the Dissenters, and the insistence of Parliament that Charles II. should withdraw his declarations of indulgence, mirrored the prevailing intolerance of the time. A small section of the Church, few in numbers but rich in personality and in intellect, did develop a broader spirit of compromise, and advocate the reform of the Church liturgy in order to comprehend the Nonconformists within her pale once more, or, failing that, the grant of a moderate measure of toleration; but the great bulk of the clergy clung to their old rigid exclusiveness, and cherished the grudge against the Dissenters which had descended to them from Cromwellian days. Concession was only wrung from the Church at last when her own safety was threatened and no other avenue of escape offered itself. In the dark days when James II. was assailing her, and threatened to win over the Dissenters by his offers of indulgence, even the sternest opponents of Nonconformity had realized that it was necessary to bid against the king, and secret overtures were made to the Non-

conformists promising them toleration by law if they resisted the king's offer of it by prerogative. Relying on this promise, the majority of the Dissenters refused to take advantage of the king's illegal grant of toleration, and lent their support to the movement which drove him from the throne. They were still further encouraged to hope for legal recognition by the knowledge that William was an ardent believer in liberty of conscience and in freedom of worship.

Once the revolution had been accomplished, the promises made to the Nonconformists had to be redeemed, and their services rewarded. The Earl of Nottingham, who was a staunch Tory and a loyal son of the Church, undertook to introduce Toleration and Comprehension Bills in favour of the Dissenters, on the tacit understanding that the Whigs would not insist upon the repeal of the tests imposed in 1673, which excluded all but Churchmen from any office under the State. His Toleration Bill quickly passed both Houses and became law (March 1689). It provided that all those statutes which aimed at enforcing religious uniformity were henceforward not to extend to any person dissenting from the Church of England who took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and the declaration against transubstantiation as provided in the Test Act of 1673. Dissenting ministers were to be exempt from the penalties of the various Acts of the Clarendon Code on condition that they took the same oaths and declaration, and expressed their approval of all the Thirty-nine Articles, except those which state that the Church has power to regulate ceremonies, that the doctrines contained in the book of homilies are godly and wholesome, and that there is nothing superstitious and ungodly in the ordination service. Those who had scruples about infant baptism were also allowed to except the Twenty-seventh Article. Quakers, and others who objected to taking any oath, were permitted instead to promise fidelity to the Government and to subscribe a profession of Christian belief. No religious

meeting was to be held behind closed doors ; and Roman Catholics and those who did not believe in the Trinity were expressly excluded from the benefits of the Act. It was a halting and illogical compromise which did not give complete toleration, and positively denied the right of free religious opinion to all, but it owed its very success to its incompleteness, for no party at the time was ready to accept the principle of a full and universal freedom of belief or disbelief. By keeping pace with the opinion of the day, and by not trying to anticipate it, the Act "removed a vast amount of evil without shocking a vast amount of prejudice," * and if toleration was first granted in the form of a special exception to the general principle of intolerant uniformity, the form could not hide the true value of the fact. It was the thin end of the wedge ; it shattered for ever the old idea of the seamless robe which was to embrace the whole nation ; and it laid the foundation of that complete toleration which is the characteristic of the modern state. The grant of full citizenship to those who stood outside the Church had to wait longer, for by the Corporation and Test Acts Dissenters still remained technically excluded from all municipal, civil, and military offices until 1828, though in practice breaches of these statutes were sanctioned by annual Acts of Indemnity from 1727 onwards.

The Comprehension Bill had a briefer and more chequered career. Its object was so to modify the Anglican liturgy and ceremonies that the bulk of the Nonconformists might once more be able to enter into communion with the Church of their fathers. To effect this, it was proposed to dispense all ministers of the Church from the necessity of subscribing to the Thirty-nine Articles, and instead to substitute a general declaration of approval of the doctrine and worship of the Church. Nonconformist ministers were to acquire the same status as the clergy, and to be capable of holding any livings in the Established Church without

* Macaulay, *History of England*, Vol. III., 1390.

re-ordination, and by the simple imposition of a bishop's hands. The wearing of a surplice was to be optional, save in a few churches of outstanding importance, and the use of the sign of the cross in baptism, of god-fathers and godmothers at christenings, and of the kneeling position at communion, were to be left to the discretion of those concerned. Finally, the king and queen were to be petitioned to appoint a commission of clergy to revise the liturgy and canons with a view to forwarding the great object of comprehension.

This attempt at reunion met with little support, and it soon became apparent that it was destined to fail. It was, in the first place, too late to accomplish its purpose, for the Independents, Baptists, and Quakers now formed a majority of the Dissenters, and they could not be won over by any concessions. It was therefore to their interest to see that none of the other Nonconformists were satisfied, for every defection from the total body of dissent reduced the hope of securing complete toleration and the abolition of the tests for the remainder. Moreover, many of the Nonconformist clergy had acquired such positions of influence and of opulence, especially in London, that a change might actually have been to their disadvantage, so that they had no interest in forwarding the scheme. From another side the Bill was assailed by both Tories and Whigs. The High Churchmen among the former refused absolutely to make any concessions in matters of ritual, and they were confirmed in this attitude by the king's recognition of Presbyterianism in Scotland, and by the treatment which the Episcopalians there received at the hands of the Presbyterians. Men's minds were inflamed by rumours that the Church was to be pulled down and presbyteries set up in England, as in Scotland, and the more zealous among the Churchmen resolved to resist at all costs the dilution of their old liturgy and ritual. At the same time the Whigs, on both religious and political grounds, did not want the Church strengthened by the addition of a large body

of Nonconformists, for it was not forgotten that the Church had taught non-resistance and supported absolutism in the past. But more than any of these reasons, the success of the Toleration Bill cut the ground from beneath the comprehension scheme by satisfying the chief needs of the Dissenters, and so rendering it unnecessary. It passed the Lords, but in order to save it from defeat in the Commons it was "shelved" by referring it to the forthcoming Convocation of clergy. There feeling ran so high between the Low Church upper house and the High Church lower house that the assembly had to be prorogued before the question of comprehension came to be discussed, and the whole scheme was then quietly dropped (December 1689).

Meanwhile another measure had been passed which created a schism in the Church. The oaths of allegiance and supremacy had both been modified by the convention in order to meet the scruples of the Tories and enable them conscientiously to accept the new Government. It was readily agreed that all *future* holders of State, Church, or University offices should be required to take these two oaths, and that existing civil and military officials should also be obliged to swear. But strong feeling was aroused when it was proposed to extend the same obligation to the existing clergy, for several of the bishops, led by Sancroft of Canterbury, had already refused to attend the convention because they scrupled to violate the principle of non-resistance, and to force them to take the oaths was to make them publicly renounce this long-accepted tenet. The danger of driving a powerful section of the Church into permanent opposition to the new Government was obvious, and the king was anxious to prevent a measure which could do no good, and savoured of intolerance. He offered to dispense with the oaths from the clergy, but the Whigs were adamant. They were determined to force the Church to swallow its old absolutist doctrines and to express open approval of the revolution settlement, and they carried the day. It was decreed that all priests of

the Established Church must take the oaths by August 1, 1689. Those who refused were to be suspended for six months, and if they still proved recalcitrant at the end of that period they were to be deprived. When the appointed day came, the primate, six bishops, and about four hundred of the lower clergy refused to swear allegiance to the new sovereigns, and were consequently suspended and finally removed from their sees and benefices. These "non-jurors," as they were called, comprised only about a tenth of the priesthood, and few of the laity were affected by the schism, but the separate Church which the deprived priests founded was able to linger on until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The expulsion of so many clergy from their benefices naturally alienated the High Church Tories from King William, and his appointment of their successors did not diminish this resentment, for the vacant sees were all filled by Low Churchmen. The change was an important one. It packed the House of Lords with a solid phalanx of Whig bishops, and gave that party a firm majority in the Upper House, a state of affairs which was destined to provoke incessant bickerings when the Commons wore a different political complexion, until Harley and St. John found a revolutionary way of bridling the Lords; * and it gave a great impetus to those forces which were already at work transforming the old spirit of the Church.

The Low Churchmen, whom William patronized, laid emphasis on benevolence of conduct rather than on dogma, and taught a practical common-sense morality. In place of the deep, if narrow, conviction and glowing faith of their predecessors, they reflected the rationalism of the scientific spirit which had developed during the reign of Charles II., and strove to prove that a real harmony existed between Christianity and reason. They were the result of a natural reaction from the fierce religious passions of earlier days, and also of the influence on religion of the new interest in science, and

* See page 171.

both motives tended to discredit the doctrines of the older generation of divines. Their dogmatic metaphysics were undermined by the rational spirit of the age, and their intolerance vanished, not only because of the proved impossibility of enforcing it after 1689, but also before the loftier conception of divine benevolence and fatherhood which steadily superseded the old emphasis on doctrine and revelation. Toleration, philanthropy, and a firm belief in the power of human reason became the main characteristics of the succeeding epoch, and few will deny that they were a much-needed contribution to the Church. Yet they brought temptation with them, as the eighteenth century was to prove. Toleration was apt to slide into, or rather to be used as a cloak for indifference ; a horror of dogmatism led to the sweeping condemnation of all " enthusiasm " which was later to drive the Wesleyans from the fold ; emphasis on the common fatherhood of God too often faded into a vague Deism which, as has been wittily said, " turned the Almighty into an absentee landlord," and was sometimes not far removed from Agnosticism ; and reliance upon the efficacy of reason only produced a shallow optimism and a false complacency with the existing order which quickly failed to satisfy more earnest minds. With this decline in faith and zeal went a corresponding degradation of manners and morals, and the way was prepared for the clerics of the Georgian era, many of whom frequented the theatres, taverns, and racecourses, drank generously, gambled away their small stipends at the card table, and enjoyed the broadest anecdotes without any restraint from their cloth. The Low Churchmen of William's day were for the most part distinguished by their simple piety and by the devotion and diligence which they brought to the performance of their everyday duties ; but once that zeal and efficiency withered, as it did before the polite scepticism of the following century, their very breadth of sympathy and tolerance made it all too easy to compromise with the world and relapse into spiritual

torpor. The Toleration Act which finally destroyed the old conception of uniformity, the promotion of men who taught tolerance and deprecated fanaticism, the spread of a rational spirit into every department of life, and the new interest in commerce with the material prosperity which it produced, all contributed to transform the fiery religious passions of the seventeenth century into the cold worldly morality or decently veiled indifference of the Hanoverian age.

Chapter III

THE WAR OF THE LEAGUE OF AUGSBURG, 1688-97

The European Situation in 1688, and the Entry of England into the War against France

THE international situation in Europe in 1688 was something like that which existed in 1914. Beneath an outward show of peace the Powers were arming feverishly and leaguings themselves together for defence, the Chancelleries were a prey to jealousy, suspicion, and alarm, and the diplomatic atmosphere was tense with the threat of a coming storm. But it was France, and not Germany, who was then the disturber of the public tranquillity.

Ever since the Treaty of Nimwegen (1678), which he regarded merely as a truce, Louis XIV. had pushed forward his military and naval preparations, and by a persistent rattling of the sabre in its sheath, together with an unscrupulous use of diplomatic and legal chicanery, had derived greater aggrandizement during the so-called peace than he had been able to secure by years of war. This behaviour slowly aroused the apprehensions of all Europe. The flagitious proceedings of his Chambers of Reunion in 1680-81, and the subsequent annexations in Alsace and the Netherlands; his invasion of the Low Countries in 1683 and the capture of Luxemburg in the following year, which won for him the recognition of all his gains since 1678 for a period of twenty years (the Treaty of Ratisbon); his intrigues with the insurgents in Hungary and with the Turks, to

whom he sent supplies in order to keep their war with the Emperor alive for his own purposes,* earned for him the distrust or hatred of the Empire, Spain, Holland, and Poland. Catholics throughout Europe were scandalized by his quarrels with the Pope, while the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) and the subsequent treatment of the Huguenots aroused a torrent of execration against him in every Protestant state. By 1688 Louis was practically isolated in Europe. Two years earlier (July 1686) the Emperor, Spain, Sweden, the Elector Palatine, and several minor German princes, had united in the defensive League of Augsburg for the preservation of the *status quo*, and Holland, though not a member of the League, was closely associated, for William of Orange had been the main instigator of it, and had made the Hague a sort of international capital where all those states who feared the growing power of France met and deliberated under his informal presidency.

But Louis was not afraid of any coalition so long as the war between the Emperor Leopold I. and Turkey continued, and so long as he was assured of the friendship, or even of the bare neutrality of England. These two facts lay at the very base of his policy. While Leopold was occupied in the east Louis enjoyed a free hand on the Rhine, and was able by a show of force to impose the Treaty of Ratisbon upon Spain and the Empire; but he could not doubt that if Leopold emerged successful from the Turkish war his victorious troops would quickly be turned against France to regain the plundered provinces. As the Moslems were slowly pressed back from Vienna to Belgrade, Louis was therefore drawn steadily nearer to intervention as a defensive measure to secure the gains he had made since the Treaty of Nimwegen. Pretexts for a war were not wanting. In 1688 he was nursing a quarrel with the Empire over the vacant Archbishopric of Cologne, which he hoped to secure for his nominee Furstenburg, the Bishop of Strassburg, and so establish French influ-

* The Emperor had been at war with the Turks since 1683.

ence in the strategically important appendant territory. Furstenburg was opposed in the election by Clement of Bavaria, who had the support of the Emperor and the Pope, but Louis was determined to obtain the see for his creature even if he had to use force.

His relations with England had encouraged him in this aggressive policy. Charles II. had been his obedient pensioner, and James, though he showed more independence and obstinacy than his brother, had taken Louis's money, and shared his theories of royal absolutism, his zeal for Catholicism, and his hatred of the Dutch. It was recognized throughout Europe that an *entente* existed between England and France, and that in any conflict England would either remain neutral or range herself on the French side.

The Powers which were opposed to France naturally desired a change of policy in England, and William of Orange had early realized that the addition of English aid to the alliance against Louis could alone secure its ultimate success. England was therefore the vital factor as the war clouds gathered in 1688; and if Louis counted upon the fidelity of James, William knew that English national feeling was really anti-French. Sympathy with the Dutch who had twice been attacked by Louis, and with the Protestants who had been hounded out of France, alarm at the growing strength of the French navy and mercantile marine, an inherent dislike for the paraphernalia of autocracy and militarism with which Louis surrounded himself, and a desire to preserve the balance of power on the Continent, all combined to raise up in England a large party which disliked the pro-French policy of the king. But James was so bound to France that only by a change of monarchs could the latent hostility to Louis in England hope to assert itself. It was this fact which lay in William's mind when he promised to lead an expedition against James in 1688. Viewed from his international standpoint it was "a struggle within a struggle"; * an episode in the great

* Seeley, *Growth of British Policy*, Vol. II., p. 277.

conflict to preserve Europe from French domination. The salvation of English liberty was a necessary step to the salvation of European liberty, and William snatched the crown from Louis's ally just as he would have snatched a Flanders fortress from one of Louis's marshals—not because he had any vulgar ambition to wear a royal diadem, but simply because it was an essential move in his tireless campaign against France.

Events worked favourably for him. Louis had only to mass his troops on the frontiers of the Spanish Netherlands, threatening the Dutch, and he knew that William would never be allowed to sail and leave his country denuded of troops and ships. But at this critical moment both James and Louis blundered. The former, blind to his peril, rejected with disdain Louis's offers of help, and took offence at the French ultimatum to Holland warning her against an attack upon the English king, which seemed to imply that he was dependent upon French protection. He thus annoyed the King of France at the very moment when French aid alone could have saved him. Louis, meanwhile, had determined on immediate war with the Emperor. In the summer of 1688 the Pope declared Clement of Bavaria elected Archbishop of Cologne, and Louis accordingly prepared to establish his candidate, Furstenburg, in the see by force. In September came the news that the imperial forces had captured Belgrade. This was regarded by the Turks almost as one of the outworks of Constantinople, and it looked as though no obstacle now remained between the Emperor's armies and the Bosphorus. Louis saw that not a moment was to be lost. Before September closed his troops poured over the German frontier into the Palatinate. By the end of October it was occupied, and Philippsburg, one of the great bridgehead fortresses on the Rhine, had been seized. To do this the French troops had been deliberately withdrawn from Flanders, and so William was liberated for his English expedition. Louis hoped that James would receive a sharp lesson of

his dependence upon France, and that Orange would become involved in a long and bitter civil war in England. But, as the event proved, he misjudged the issue, for in the midst of his successes on the Rhine he learnt that King James was a fugitive at Versailles.

Yet William was still not sure of his objective. His position in England was precarious, and it is doubtful if war could have been declared on France—at least with general approval and support—if Louis had not played into his hands once more by deciding to send King James to Ireland. The Earl of Tyrconnel, whom James had made Lord Deputy in 1687, had filled all Irish offices with Roman Catholics. After the revolution he had deceived William with negotiations for the surrender of the island until his preparations were complete. Then he threw off the mask and summoned the Irish to arms. Little incentive was needed, for the memories of the Cromwellian conquest and the subsequent spoliation of the natives had bitten deep into the minds of the Irish. They rose to a man and turned fiercely on the small colony of English and Scottish settlers. Rumours of a general massacre like that of 1641 filled the air, and the Protestants either fled to England or retired to Ulster and stood at bay in the two towns of Londonderry and Enniskillen. In a few months all vestiges of English authority in Ireland had disappeared.

Both to James and to Louis the revolt seemed to afford a splendid opportunity. To the former it opened up the prospect of recovering his lost crown with the help of the loyal Irish; while to the latter it promised a golden chance of embroiling William and his new subjects in a struggle which would prevent them from making any active intervention on the Continent. In March 1689 James sailed from Brest with a retinue of French officers to train the Irish, and arms and money to equip them. He landed at Kinsale, and reached Dublin, where he was warmly welcomed, on the 24th. For the moment the whole of Ireland recognized his



LONDONDERRY ABOUT 1680.

(From a contemporary drawing in the British Museum.)

sway except the two Protestant strongholds of Londonderry and Enniskillen, the former of which was besieged by an Irish force under Richard Hamilton.

But James's success only served to consolidate William's position, for the news from Ireland had aroused a fierce storm of anger in England. All the old passions: pride of race, religious intolerance, the arrogance of an alien oligarchy established and maintained by force, the festering memories of past wrongs, awoke to life once more, and Whig and Tory both agreed that the Irish papists must be stamped down again into the helotry which Cromwell had imposed upon them. James lost more hearts in England than he gained in Ireland by his appeal to the racial and religious aspirations of the Irish, and Louis, by the help he gave, made it certain that England would be found in the ranks of his enemies. In April both Houses of Parliament assured William of their support in the event of war with France. "This is the first day of my reign," cried the exultant king, who now saw the great object of his life achieved; and early in May war was declared. He had already succeeded in developing the League of Augsburg into a grand alliance against France, and in September England also joined the coalition.

It was easy to clamour for war; but it was another thing to wage it, and the test soon brought to light all the weaknesses of the nation. There were few men in England who possessed any military experience. The long peace had made Englishmen forget the use of arms, and those few who could claim any knowledge of the military art had gained it as volunteers in the Turkish wars, or in the Low Countries helping to stem the tide of French conquest. King James had collected an army of nearly 20,000 men; but it was disbanded on his flight, and William found the country with scarcely a trained regiment capable of participating in any continental campaign. One important point had, however, been forced upon Parliament before the war began. In March a Scottish regiment, which was ordered to sail

for Holland, mutinied at Ipswich and began to march towards Scotland. It was quickly rounded up and forced to surrender, but in the alarm which the event caused Parliament passed a Mutiny Act. After repeating the clause in the Declaration of Rights which asserted that the existence of a standing army in time of peace without consent of Parliament was illegal, this important statute went on to enact that, for a period of six months only, mutiny, sedition, or desertion might be punished by courts martial, which were to consist of at least thirteen officers, and that no sentence of death was to be passed unless nine out of the thirteen agreed. It was expressly stated that this provision of special jurisdiction for special offences was not to exempt any one from the ordinary processes of the law. By thus putting the soldier under a special code and authority, the Act gave, for the first time, a kind of indirect recognition to the existence of a standing army. It was at first renewed for varying periods, but finally it became an annual statute, and the legal existence of the army still depends upon the yearly passing of this Act. As it has been found impossible since the revolution to dispense with the regular army, the necessity for an annual Mutiny Act has always been—along with the necessity for the voting of supplies—a guarantee that Parliament should be summoned to meet at least once every year.

The navy was not in such a weak condition as the army, for no jealousy of a "standing navy" had ever been displayed, and King James had improved the efficiency and increased the numbers of the fleet during his short reign. But the removal of all his adherents from the Admiralty robbed the fleet of all those officials who had any real experience of naval administration. Pepys, the great diarist, who ceased to be secretary in 1688, was especially missed. For some years the navy had to be controlled by inexperienced officers and civilians, with disastrous results to its efficiency.

Still more fatal in its effects was the corruption and

venality which had spread through English public life since the Restoration. Both in the army and the navy peculation and fraud were rampant, and troops and ships alike were robbed of half their striking force by the treacheries of their own officials. Paymasters kept the pay money permanently in arrear, and even the tardy trickle which did flow was still further diminished



A FIRST-RATE WARSHIP OF 1680.

(From an old print.)

by other intermediary exactions ; colonels “ creamed ” the clothing allowance of their regiments ; captains made a steady income by returning false muster rolls ; and the commanders of naval convoys blackmailed the merchants whose goods they guarded. For contractors it was the golden age of jobbery. Shoddy shoes and tents, faulty muskets, half-filled bombs, rotten sails, spars, and ropes, mouldy meat and sour, stinking beer, were all shamelessly foisted upon the Government at outrageous prices by

collusion between the contractors and the officials who divided the spoils.

The Struggle in Ireland, 1689-91

Events in Ireland speedily revealed these weaknesses. In April James had appeared before Londonderry in the hope that the inhabitants would open their gates. But they treated his summons with contempt; so, leaving his army to carry on the siege, he returned to Dublin to meet the Parliament which he had summoned to assemble on 7th May. It consisted almost exclusively of Irish and papists, and speedily ensured by its legislation that the struggle with England should be one to the bitter end. An Act was first passed granting liberty of conscience to all Christian sects, but the treatment of the Protestants in Ireland proved conclusively that it was meant to remain a dead letter. Having flung this valueless sop to opinion in England, the Parliament proceeded—in spite of the vigorous protests of James—to annul the authority which the English Parliament exercised over Ireland, to declare forfeited the personal estates of all absentees over the age of seventeen, to cancel all attainders for the rebellion of 1641 and restore their lands to those who had then been evicted, to transfer the tithe from the Protestant to the Roman Catholic clergy, and to repeal the Act of Settlement of 1663, thus effecting a wholesale transfer of land from English to native Irish landlords. In a word, they swept away the whole structure of English supremacy in the island; and they wound up with a great Act of Attainder containing nearly three thousand names of persons who were to suffer death and have their property confiscated unless they surrendered themselves for trial by a given date. No investigations were made before names were included, and in order to ensure that none should escape James was deprived of his right of pardon.

Such measures meant war *à outrance*. The first step was taken by the English in July, when a force under

Kirke succeeded in relieving the town of Londonderry after it had endured a close siege of one hundred and five days, and been reduced to the most terrible extremities of privation and suffering. At the same time the men of Enniskillen defeated a force which had been sent against them at the battle of Newtown Butler, and the Irish were obliged to retire from Ulster. In August the Duke of Schomberg landed near Belfast with an English army of about 10,000 men. He stormed Carrickfergus, and marched south towards Dublin; but at Dundalk he had to halt and entrench himself because his army was not in a condition to encounter the 20,000 men whom James had collected at Drogheda. Until November, when the campaigning season closed, Schomberg had to lie at Dundalk, closely watched by the Irish. He had no victuals, no commissariat wagons, no horses for artillery or transport, and no money to pay the troops. His muskets broke, the cannons were badly cast, the tents were rotten, the men had no supplies of shoes or clothes, and his officers were ignorant and lazy. To add to his difficulties fever broke out in the ranks and carried off several thousands of the English, who were all new recruits and had no idea how to protect themselves. It was "the worst force ever got together under the English flag," and only Schomberg's skill saved it from total destruction, though there was much grumbling in England at his apparent inactivity.

The next year (1690) William determined to go to Ireland himself, and during the winter the army there was thoroughly reorganized, and increased to about 35,000 men. In June William landed at Carrickfergus, and at once moved forward, driving the Irish before him as far as Drogheda and the river Boyne, where they turned at bay. On 12th July the passage of the river was forced by the English, the Irish left wing was turned and driven in, and King James and his troops fled in confusion back to Dublin. James stayed only a few hours in the capital before he sped on to Kinsale, and sailed from there back to France. The remnant of his



A CONTEMPORARY PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| A. Drogheda | L. Madock's rivulet | S. A hill from whence his Majesty first saw the Irish Camp. |
| B. The Irish Army. | K. Our Batteries | T. The main place of Battle. |
| C. Irish Batteries. | L. The blue Dutch passing the river | V. Slane. |
| D. Donore. | M. French and Eniskillingers | |
| E. Old bridge. | N. Sir John Hammer and Count Nassau's. | |
| F. The place where his Majesty was in danger of being killed. | O. The left wing of our Horse. | |
| G. The English Camp | P. Mills | |
| H. A small village | Q. Slane bridge | |
| | R. The place where the right wing of our Horse passed the river. | |

army withdrew to the west, and William entered Dublin without further opposition. Waterford surrendered to him early in August, and he then decided to march against Limerick. The French troops who had gone to Ireland with James declared that the town could not be defended, and withdrew to Galway, but the Irish, led by Patrick Sarsfield, determined to make a stand. Sarsfield was able to surprise an English convoy and spike all their big siege guns before they could be brought into action, and after trying in vain to storm the city William had to raise the siege in September, as the autumn rains had begun and his men were suffering from disease contracted in the damp trenches. The Irish thus gained a respite in which to prepare for another campaign.

Meanwhile the English had suffered one of the worst naval defeats they have ever experienced. A great fleet of seventy ships had been collected by the French at Brest, and no sooner had William left for Ireland than Count Tourville, its commander, put to sea and stood up the Channel to challenge the Anglo-Dutch fleet which lay at St. Helens, under the Earl of Torrington. Torrington had only fifty ships to oppose to the French, and he was anxious to avoid a battle until he was joined by two other English squadrons from the Irish Sea and the Bay of Biscay. He therefore retired to the Straits of Dover, but on 9th July he received peremptory orders from the queen and the Privy Council to give battle immediately. Half-heartedly he attacked the French on the 10th off Beachy Head, and after a conflict of some hours, during which the Dutch, who fought in the van, were very badly mauled, he was obliged to break off the fight and run for the Thames, taking up the buoys as he went so as to prevent pursuit. He was court-martialed for his failure, but acquitted; and his strategy has been approved by most naval students, for he had grasped the theory, practised by the Germans in the Great War of 1914-18, that an inferior force skilfully handled can often check and

immobilize a superior one, and had he been free to carry out this policy he would probably have preserved his fleet intact and kept Tourville fully occupied, until he had received sufficient reinforcements to face him in open battle.

As it was Tourville ranged the Channel free to do as he liked, and feverish preparations had to be made to meet the expected invasion. Fortunately the proposed Jacobite rebellion, which was to be the signal for a French landing, was betrayed and scotched, and Louis therefore refused to venture his troops in a descent. All that Tourville could do was to plunder English shipping and sack the small village of Teignmouth. In August he returned to Brest, and England breathed freely again. By September the sea was sufficiently clear for Marlborough to lead an expedition to Ireland, which took Cork and Kinsale, and so robbed the French of two of their most important gateways into the island.

The year 1691 ended the struggle in Ireland. The Irish, reinforced by French troops and led by a French general, St. Ruth, endeavoured to hold the line of the Shannon, but Ginkel, whom William had left in command, stormed Athlone in June, and so crossed the river. St. Ruth retired and offered battle at Aughrim, where he was defeated and slain. Galway at once capitulated, and Limerick alone remained to the Irish. Ginkel lost no time in besieging it, and by October its defenders were reduced to such straits that they were obliged to capitulate. The military terms of the surrender permitted all those members of the Irish army who desired to enter the service of France to depart freely under their own officers, and English transports were to be provided to convey them to the Continent. Several thousands took advantage of this clause, and sailed under Sarsfield to serve in the armies of Louis XIV., where they distinguished themselves by the gallantry with which they fought against the English in subsequent campaigns in Flanders. The civil Treaty of Limerick guaranteed to the Irish the same measure of

religious freedom as they had enjoyed under Charles II., and an amnesty and restoration to their estates for all members of the army and all inhabitants of Limerick and other garrison towns, providing that they took the oath of allegiance, which was to be the only test imposed upon Irish Roman Catholics who submitted. Ireland once more lay at the feet of her conqueror, and the future was to prove that the sharp conflict for supremacy had not taught the victors the virtue or the value of moderation.

The War on the Continent and at Sea

On the Continent no outstanding event had taken place since the outbreak of war. In the winter of 1688-89 the French, fearing that they would be unable to hold the Palatinate, ruthlessly devastated it, and by so doing earned for themselves the title of "Huns" from the infuriated Germans. By the end of 1689 Cologne, Bonn, and Mainz had been retaken by imperial forces, and the French were reduced to acting on the defensive all along the Rhine. In the Netherlands the Prince of Waldeck, who commanded a composite force of Dutch, Spanish, Germans, and English (under the Earl of Marlborough), did nothing but prevent the French forces opposed to him from going to the relief of Bonn.

Before the campaign of 1690 began Savoy had joined the allies, so that France was now girt round on all her frontiers by enemies. Yet her strength proved more than equal to the strain. Her troops crossed the Pyrenees and invaded Catalonia; Catinat defeated the Duke of Savoy at Staffarda (August); and in the Netherlands, Luxemburg, the greatest general of his day, won from Waldeck the hard-fought battle of Fleurus (July), but was prevented from reaping the full fruits of his victory by the reinforcements which Waldeck obtained from Brandenburg. In the East the Emperor suffered a temporary check as a result of the revival of



the Turks under the able grand vizir, Mustafa Kiuprili ; but William had already begun to use the influence of England at Constantinople to try to secure peace, so that the Emperor might be free to turn all his forces against France. In 1689 Sir William Trumbull, the English ambassador in Turkey, was ordered to offer the king's mediation and to do all he could to dispose the Porte to peace, and his successors in the embassy all received similar instructions. The pride of the Turks, backed by French influence, frustrated their efforts until the year 1699, when the war with France was over, but credit must none the less be given to William for an attempt which revealed the width of his diplomatic vision.

At the Hague, whither he went early in 1691, William had difficult negotiations to control. The various members of the alliance all regarded England and Holland as milch cows from which an unending flow of subsidies might be drawn, and the judicious distribution of this " golden unction " called for the greatest patience and tact.

Not content with being the brain of the alliance William was also determined to be its sword, and from the year 1691 onwards he commanded in person the allied armies in the Low Countries. He possessed a sound, if not a brilliant, grasp of the principles of strategy, but he lacked an equal tactical capacity, and time after time plans which were arranged with a touch of genius were ruined by their faulty execution. He was " a very clever amateur," * and lacked, as such men usually do, the patience and detailed perfection of the professional expert. Yet he redeemed this deficiency by an organizing power and a recuperative faculty which enabled him to lose battles and still win campaigns. Even after the most crushing defeat it seldom needed more than a week or two before he had reformed his shattered army, or collected another one, and was ready to put up an equally stout resistance again.

* Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, Vol. I., p. 357.

The number of English troops whom he commanded rose steadily as the war proceeded, and at its close nearly 90,000 Englishmen were arrayed against the French, and, in addition, there were numerous hired German contingents. These men were mainly recruited by voluntary enlistment. Recruiting sergeants perambulated the country with tap of drum, urging young men on village greens or in country taverns to "take the shilling" and help to thrash the French "Monseers." Occasionally a too zealous recruiter would force the shilling on a man when he was drunk, and even kidnapping was not unknown. Prisoners were often released from jail to join the army, and justices of the peace ordered all able-bodied vagrants to be enlisted. With such material it is hardly surprising that desertion was frequent, or that the discipline was fierce. Yet William's troops were not cowed or brutalized by unreasoning severity. He looked well after their equipment and their creature comforts, and in return they fought bravely and willingly for him, and did not disgrace their profession by any of those outbreaks of licence and pillage which, in later days, cast a dark shadow over Wellington's army in Spain.

For arms, the cavalry had pistols, swords, and carbines. Most of the infantry carried matchlock muskets, though a few had the new firelocks which enabled the charge to be ignited more easily and rapidly. About a quarter of them still carried pikes; and since 1678 one company in each regiment had been equipped with hand grenades and hatchets. These grenadiers were picked for their height and physique, and were used as storm-troops in sieges and assaults. During the war bayonets were first issued to all who carried muskets. They fitted into the barrel, so that when fixed the musket was useless; but at the battle of Killiecrankie in 1689 General Mackay, observing that his men had not time to fix these plug-bayonets before they were charged by the Highlanders, ordered bayonets to be made to screw on outside the barrel. This produced a weapon which

combined the utility of the musket and the pike, and the idea was quickly adopted throughout the army.

The campaign of 1691 was indecisive, though the advantage rested with the French. Nothing of interest occurred in Italy or on the Rhine. In the Netherlands, Luxemburg suddenly attacked the great fortress of Mons (March). William hurried to its relief, but was not strong enough to save it. Early in April it capitulated, and the rest of the campaign was spent in moves and counter-moves by the two wary antagonists which produced a stalemate. At sea the year was entirely uneventful.

1692 was more full of incidents. While Catinat defeated an attempt of the Duke of Savoy to invade Dauphiné, and another French force crossed the Rhine and invaded Baden and Wurtemberg, Luxemburg laid siege to Namur, which was reputed to be one of the strongest fortresses in Europe. William tried to relieve it, but Luxemburg held him off, and the city had to surrender to King Louis, who was present in person in the French army (June). Luxemburg then moved on Brussels, and William endeavoured to surprise him by night near the village of Steenkirk. The surprise only just failed, but after a long and bloody fight, in which the English suffered heavily, they were obliged to withdraw and acknowledge defeat (3rd August). Luxemburg was only too glad to have escaped destruction, and made no effort to follow up his victory. It was the first pitched battle in which English soldiers had encountered the great trained forces of the Continent, and the historian of the army gives it as his considered judgment that "British troops have never fought a finer action than Steenkirk." *

To make up for these various misfortunes on land the English fleet won a great naval victory in May. King James had been in communication with a number of the leading men in England, including the admiral, Edward Russell, who had succeeded Torrington; and

* Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, Vol. I., p. 367.

relying on the help of the English Jacobites, Louis planned an invasion. Tourville came round into the Channel with forty-four ships from Brest to cover the attack, but Russell quickly proved that the rumours of his impending treason were false. With a fleet of nearly one hundred ships he fell on Tourville near Barfleur, and although at the end of the day not a single French ship had struck her flag or been sunk, Tourville had to retire in the night, and his withdrawal speedily became a flight. His fleet scattered, some ships running for safety to La Hogue, and others to Cherbourg and St. Malo. The English followed in hot pursuit, and the French vessels which had taken refuge in Cherbourg and La Hogue were promptly attacked and all destroyed, either by English landing-parties, or by their own crews to save them from falling into the hands of the enemy.

The year 1693 made little material difference to the position of the combatants. In Catalonia and in Savoy the French made slight but important progress. On the Rhine Prince Louis of Baden and the Elector of Saxony again drove the French back to the west of the river. In the Netherlands, Luxemburg took Huy in spite of William's efforts, and then attacked the allied army in a badly-chosen defensive position which William had taken up between the villages of Landen and Neerwinden (29th July). Although Luxemburg outnumbered his opponents by nearly 30,000 men, it was only after three costly assaults that he could capture Neerwinden and turn the allied right. Then their line gave way, and the rout was terrible. Over 12,000 slain were left on the field, and if the French had pursued vigorously, William's army might have been totally destroyed. But Luxemburg, whose own ranks had also been sadly thinned, remained inactive, and in a few weeks William had called in outlying garrisons, and was as strong as ever. He could not, however, prevent the fall of Charleroi in the autumn.

At sea the allies suffered a great disaster this year by the destruction of a large convoy of English and Dutch

merchantmen bound for the Levant, which was surprised by the whole French fleet in the bay of Lagos. The convoy scattered in all directions, but over a hundred ships were burnt or sunk at Cadiz, Malaga, Gibraltar, and elsewhere. The blow fell heaviest on the Dutch, but the English Levant Company lost about £600,000 worth of goods. "Never within the memory of man," wrote Macaulay, "had there been in the city a day of more gloom and agitation than that on which the news of the encounter in the bay of Lagos arrived. Many merchants, an eyewitness said, went away from the Royal Exchange as pale as if they had received sentence of death."

In the Low Countries no great battle was fought and no decisive move took place during the campaign of 1694, but the recapture of the small fortress of Huy by William in September seemed to show that the tide was at last turning against France. The most critical theatre of the war during this year was Spain, where De Noailles pushed far into Catalonia, and took the two towns of Palamos and Gerona, thus clearing the way for an attack on the great fort of Barcelona. Tourville, from Toulon, co-operated with him on the Spanish coast. As the English Mediterranean squadron under Sir Francis Wheler had been badly damaged in a storm at Gibraltar, and could offer no resistance to the French, William decided to send the main fleet under Russell through the Straits to attack Tourville. It was his own conception, and he had to shoulder the responsibility for dispatching the fleet so far from the English coast, for none of his ministers would advise such a daring plan. On his way out Russell landed an expedition under General Talmash at Brest to attack the town and destroy the dockyards ; but the plan had been known in France even before it was betrayed to King James by Godolphin and Marlborough, and Brest had been too strongly fortified and garrisoned to be taken by surprise. The English troops made a costly and fruitless effort to land, during which Talmash was mortally wounded,

and had eventually to be withdrawn without effecting anything (June). Russell entered the Straits early in July, just in time to save Barcelona, which was blockaded by Tourville and besieged by De Noailles. On his arrival Tourville retired hurriedly to Toulon, Barcelona was relieved, and De Noailles was reduced to complete inactivity. Nor did the effect of Russell's appearance in the Mediterranean end here, for Savoy, which had been wavering in its allegiance to the alliance, was won back by the proximity of the English fleet.

William's idea had proved a masterly one, and he quickly followed it up by a still bolder stroke, for in July he proposed that Russell should winter in the south. It was a startling suggestion, for no fleet had ever before been kept abroad in this manner, and the difficulties of refitting, repairing, and careening seemed insuperable. But the king persisted, and Russell was finally ordered to spend the winter at Cadiz, into which the English Admiralty poured stores and equipment. The new move was the first adoption of the great principle of blockading the enemy's fleet, which has ever since been followed by the navy; and it worked as successfully against France in 1694 as it did against Napoleon, or against Germany in the Great War. Tourville was bottled up in Toulon, where there were no adequate facilities for refitting all his ships, many of which decayed beyond repair; his seamen became demoralized through inertia, and deserted, or were transferred to privateers, and for the rest of the war the French navy ceased to be a factor of importance. At the same time the presence of the English at Cadiz cut the main lines of French sea home trade, and so gave a powerful impetus to the poverty and distress which was already growing in France under the strain of the war.

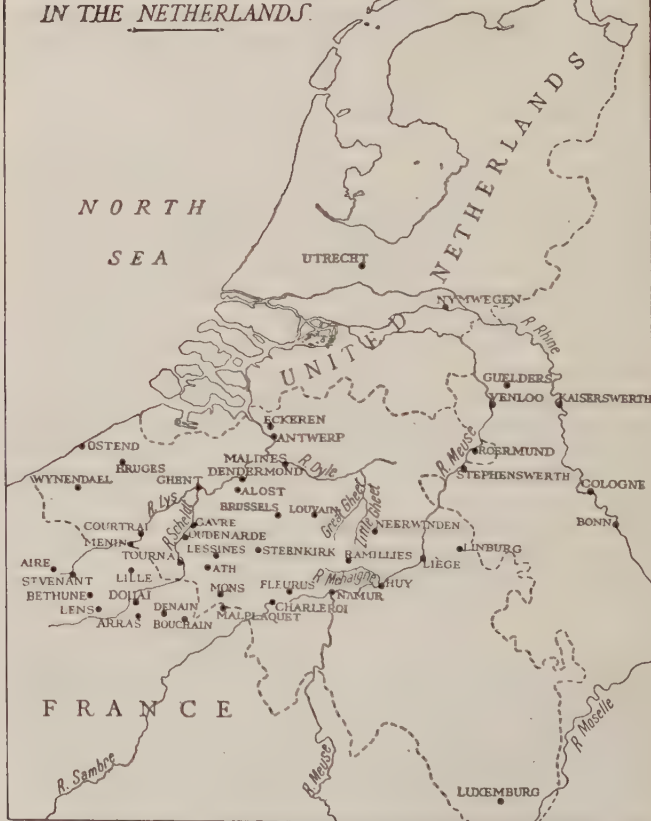
1695 was the year of King William's greatest military success. His old adversary, Luxemburg, died in January, and his successors, Boufflers and Villeroy, failed to prevent the king from regaining Namur, which fell before

a brilliant assault by his English troops in September. It was a humiliating blow for France, and was said to be the first time that a marshal of France had ever surrendered the city he defended. In Catalonia the French, deprived of support from the sea, had to retire. On the Rhine no event of importance took place. In Italy Casale was taken by Savoy, but the surrender was a mere blind to cover the defection of the Duke, Victor Amadeus. As a counter-move to Russell's presence in the Mediterranean, Louis had been forced to offer Casale to Savoy, and the bribe proved too much for the Duke's cupidity. Not until the following year did he openly desert the alliance, but his lukewarm attitude throughout 1695 prevented Russell from carrying out his plan of an attack on Toulon and Marseilles, for which he needed the help of Savoy. At the end of the season Russell returned to England. Rooke was still left with a powerful fleet at Cadiz, but in the alarm which the discovery of a Jacobite plot of insurrection caused early in 1696, he was recalled from Cadiz to defend the Channel against the threatened invasion of King James, and the command of the Mediterranean was surrendered. His recall set the seal upon Savoy's inclination to make peace, and in June 1696 he signed the Treaty of Turin with France, by which Louis surrendered Pinerolo and all his later conquests, and both parties agreed to enforce neutrality in northern Italy.

The Peace of Ryswick

In the Netherlands the campaign of 1696 was quite featureless. Both sides were exhausted, and before the year closed negotiations for peace were opened. The initiative came from Louis. His subjects were suffering the greatest distress owing to the heavy taxation which the long war had imposed, and to a series of bad harvests; he realized that there was no hope of defeating the coalition; and the declining health of the King of Spain, whose death would open up the compli-

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE
THE CAMPAIGNS
OF
WILLIAM III AND MARLBOROUGH
IN THE NETHERLANDS.



cated question of his successor, was a further incentive to France to make peace before that event occurred. The defection of Savoy seemed to offer a good opportunity for securing favourable terms, and a French agent named Callières was therefore sent to the Hague to propose a settlement and discuss its terms. William was almost as anxious for peace as Louis, for England was also feeling the burden of the war, and when Callières announced that Louis was willing to recognize William as King of England as soon as peace was signed the chief stumbling-block to the negotiations was removed. By February 1697 it had been agreed that the situation left by the Treaty of Nimwegen should be the general basis of a pacification, although this involved the surrender by France of Strassburg, Luxemburg, Mons, Charleroi, and her other conquests in the Netherlands. The mediation of Sweden was accepted by all the belligerent powers, and in May the peace congress met at Ryswick, near the Hague.

But hostilities were not interrupted, and it soon became apparent that if the negotiations were left in the hands of the congress years might elapse before a settlement was reached. Louis was not unwilling to drag out the conference so long as his armies were successful, and in the spring of 1697 they were able to take Ath, and to besiege Barcelona once more. The Emperor, on the other hand, was anxious to prolong the war until the King of Spain died, so that he might be supported by the coalition in his claim to succeed to the Spanish dominions, and consequently did all he could to wreck the peace congress. Spain was equally unwilling to make peace while a French army was encamped on her territory, and clamoured vociferously for the English fleet to relieve Barcelona again. But William was heartily disgusted with the selfishness and helplessness of his allies, who cried out for English aid because they could not defend themselves, and yet raised the most exorbitant pretensions at the conference table, and he was determined that they should not prolong the war any

more at England's expense. He resolved, therefore, to negotiate directly with the French king behind the back of the conference, and early in June 1697 he authorized his old friend Bentinck, now Duke of Portland, to request an interview with Boufflers, who commanded the French army in the Low Countries. Louis consented, and in six private meetings the two agents quickly reached an agreement on the main points at issue between England and France, which related to the recognition of William as king, the renunciation of James by Louis, and the question of amnesty for the English Jacobites, which Louis demanded, but William refused.

This method of arranging peace is a striking instance of the large measure of personal power which the King of England still enjoyed. From the beginning of his reign William had retained the control of foreign affairs in his own hands, and he now terminated a long and costly war without consulting any English minister, and through the agency of one who was not an Englishman and who held no English office. The English plenipotentiaries at Ryswick were given no information until the arrangement was notified to them and to the congress as an accomplished fact.

Having come to terms with his principal adversary, Louis was able to take up a firm line in the conference; and the capture of Barcelona in August lent weight to his demands. It is a fair criticism of William that he might have prevented this by dispatching the fleet into the Mediterranean again, but he was bent on peace and weary of the incessant importunities of the Spaniards. Moreover, he failed to realize the imminent danger in which Barcelona stood, having been too often deceived before by the alarmist reports of the Spanish Government. Louis now raised his terms, and insisted on the retention of Strassburg, in return for which he offered to restore Freiburg, Breisach, and Philippsburg to the Emperor. It was impossible to make any active resistance to these new claims, and on 20th September

England, Holland, and Spain signed treaties with France which were based on the agreements already made, and on Louis's newly-proffered terms. The Emperor stood out for a few weeks, but soon realized the impossibility of fighting France single-handed, and in November he also acceded to the settlement.

The treaty between France and Holland restored the territorial *status quo* which had existed in 1688, while a separate treaty of commerce lowered the French customs barriers and navigation duties in favour of the Dutch. To Spain France restored Catalonia, Luxemburg, Charleroi, Mons, Ath, and all other acquisitions made since 1678. The Emperor was obliged to consent to the retention of Strassburg by Louis, and received Kehl, Philippsburg, Freiburg, and Breisach in return. The Anglo-French treaty incorporated the promise which had already been made through Boufflers that Louis would recognize William as king, and not support or encourage his enemies in future; and a reciprocal guarantee was given by William. Article Seven provided for a mutual restoration of conquests in all parts of the world. This related mainly to North America, where the war had been carried on in Hudson Bay, and along the frontiers of the New England colonies, which the French from Canada and their Indian allies continually raided. So menacing did these incursions become that they had led to a joint conference of the colonies at Boston to discuss defensive measures. Under the terms of the Treaty of Ryswick, Acadia, which the colonists had conquered from the French, had to be restored, and commissioners were appointed to adjudicate upon the claims of both peoples to the Hudson Bay territory.

Superficially, the war which was thus ended appears as a dreary and indecisive conflict, and the gains obtained by the settlement to be anything but commensurate with the loss of life and treasure involved. To fight for nine years in order to revert to much the same position as existed when the war began, and to gain only

the recognition of a new king from the enemy, may seem a fruitless waste of strength ; but the true facts of the case were not written in the black and white of the treaty, though they were implicit in its terms. From a European point of view the Peace of Ryswick meant not so much the gain or loss of territory as the definite repulse of Louis's bid for hegemony. To England the war was still more momentous. It was the first great European struggle in which she had fought with her full power since the Middle Ages, and the first general settlement in which she had played a leading part. For the first time she was thrust into close intimacy with continental affairs, extending even to Constantinople, and the commanding position which she now assumed was never afterwards lost. Henceforward she became the arbiter of the balance of power in Europe, and no power, however remote, could afford to ignore the possibility of her intervention. " In international history," wrote Sir John Seeley, " the second English Revolution . . . was an event which decided the whole subsequent course of European history, and was speedily perceived to have done so." * It had this far-reaching effect not only because it united England to the opponents of Louis XIV., and so prevented the success of his ambition to subjugate the Continent, but also because it committed her for the future to a " second hundred years' war " with France, which, beginning in a struggle to resist Louis, soon slid into a world-wide conflict for empire, dimly foreshadowed in the war of 1688-97 by the backwood fighting on the frontiers of New England and Canada.

The preceding period had belonged to the constitutional lawyer and the priest. The eighteenth century was to be the golden age of the merchant aristocracy, and its prosperity dated from the accession of William III. The trading and monied classes were mainly Whig, and the strong position they had secured by their triumph at the revolution was consolidated by the

* Seeley, *Growth of British Policy*, Vol. II., p. 308.

indispensable financial support they gave to the war which followed. Through their political and financial services to the post-revolution sovereigns they obtained a hold on English policy and turned it irrevocably towards maritime and colonial objectives. The transformation was encouraged by the constitutional settlement of 1689, which at length enabled the unique commercial advantages of the island to be exploited with undivided attention. Freed from internal troubles, and enjoying a liberty at home which was to be "the envy of less happier lands," Englishmen went forth in the new century upon that mercantile career which soon made them the richest people in Europe, and indirectly built up for them a great overseas empire. The war of the League of Augsburg was thus an important transitional period in English history, terminating the old constitutional question of the seventeenth century by finally rejecting the Stuart dynasty, and beginning a new chapter of development by introducing wars with France, a close interest in continental affairs, the predominance of the trading class and of the trading motive in English policy, the establishment of naval supremacy, and many of the other important factors which were to be the chief characteristics of the succeeding age.

Chapter IV

THE REIGNS OF WILLIAM AND MARY

William III. and the two Great Parties

THE revolution had been the work of both parties, but it was none the less a triumph for Whig principles, and the Tories were only driven by stress of circumstances to become the unwilling yoke-mates of their former opponents. The enforced repudiation of all the old Tory principles broke up the inner coherence of the party, and left it shattered into numerous groups all differing from each other in the degree of acceptance which they gave to the new régime. Every shade of opinion existed, between those like Clarendon,* who would not acknowledge the change of sovereigns and turned Jacobite, and those like Nottingham, who frankly accepted the revolution settlement, but would not recognize its legality.

For the Whigs, on the other hand, it was an hour of triumph after the years of persecution which had followed the popish plot. The revolution represented the victory of their programme, and the new king owed his crown primarily to their support. Naturally, therefore, they anticipated that he would entrust the government of the country to those who had raised him to the throne. But to their intense chagrin and disappointment William soon showed that he was determined to be the sovereign of the whole people, and not merely the puppet of a party. As Disraeli said, he found the Whigs out and refused to be a Doge.

* Eldest son of Charles II.'s famous Lord Chancellor.

To the end of his life William showed a determination to retain and to assert all the legitimate prerogatives of the Crown, and not to relinquish them to Parliament or to ministers dependent upon Parliament. He was, moreover, convinced that the Tories, with their old reverence for the monarchy, would be the most zealous supporters of the throne if only they would loyally accept him as king, and consequently he was averse from excluding them from the Government. Still more important was the influence upon him of a constitutional theory which played a very important rôle throughout this period and survived in the principles of Chatham and his party over half a century later. As a broad division of opinion on religious, and subsequently on constitutional, questions parties had existed since the days of Elizabeth, but they did not become organized political bodies until the reign of Charles II. They were therefore comparatively new phenomena at the time of the revolution; and their record did little to commend them to a large body of men of probity and moderation who had witnessed the faction fights, the carnival of corruption, and the cruel proscriptions which had filled the preceding ten years. In their endeavour to avoid the extravagances of both sides such men naturally turned back to the old conception of impartial service to the Crown irrespective of all party bonds, and maintained that the king should rule through a composite ministry chosen from the moderate men of both factions. Such an arrangement, it was argued, would provide a far more national and representative government than any based on purely Whig or Tory principles.

Acting on these various motives, William formed his first ministry in 1689 from both parties. The Tory Danby became Lord President of the Council; the famous "trimmer," Halifax, was given the Privy Seal; the Earls of Nottingham and Shrewsbury, of whom the former was a High Church Tory and the latter a Whig with few religious convictions, became Secretaries of

State. The Treasury, the Admiralty, and the Great Seal were all put into commission. Foreign affairs William kept exclusively in his own hands.

In March 1689 the convention was declared to be a parliament by the somewhat arbitrary method of its own resolution ; and party rancour speedily reappeared now that the revolution was over. The temporary unity which the folly of James had imposed upon the two parties could not obliterate the memories of their former animosity, and the triumphant Whigs refused to forgo their vengeance on those who had persecuted them and martyred their leaders since the days of the Exclusion Bill. It was this which finally wrecked the first Parliament of the new reign, for throughout 1689 the Whigs impeded the passage of a Bill of Indemnity, and William, who, in his disgust at the ferocity of this party spirit, had at first thought of retiring to Holland, eventually dissolved Parliament in January 1690. A new one met in March which contained a majority of moderate Tories, thus showing that William's disgust with the Whigs had been shared by the nation, and several ministerial changes reflected the intention of the king to incline more towards the Tory party. Halifax resigned ; several Whigs lost their seats on the Treasury ; and Danby, who had been made Marquis of Carmarthen, now became the most influential member of the Government. A few weeks later Shrewsbury, who was annoyed at the favour shown to the Tories, also resigned his secretaryship ; and in May 1690 William had the satisfaction of securing the passing of an Act of Grace which granted an indemnity to all but a small handful of the late king's creatures.

Financial Aspects of the Period

The new Parliament lasted until October 1695, and was responsible for epoch-making financial measures to pay for the war with France, and for several Bills of constitutional interest and importance.

Since the Restoration the revenue of the Crown had been drawn from four main sources.

1. The hereditary revenues of the Crown came from crown lands, the post office, wine licences, first fruits and tenths, certain judicial fees and fines, and half of an excise duty on beer, cider, and other drinks levied in 1660, and settled on the king in perpetuity in return for the surrender of his claim to certain obsolete feudal dues. The total value of this source was just under half a million per annum.

2. The other half of the excise of 1660, which had been granted to Charles II. and James II. by Parliament for life. It amounted to about £150,000 per annum.

3. Customs duties on wine, sugar, tobacco, silks, linens, and other commodities, which had also been granted to previous sovereigns for life, brought in just short of a million each year.

4. The hearth or chimney tax yielded rather more than £200,000 per annum.*

After the revolution the hereditary revenues went automatically to William and Mary along with the crown, but all the other sources of income lapsed, and Parliament had therefore to make some provision for the future. Temporary votes of money were made in 1689, and it was not until March 1690 that a permanent settlement of the revenue was arranged. It was then resolved that £1,200,000 per annum should be granted to the king and queen to enable them to support the necessary charges of the Government in time of peace. Of this, £700,000, drawn from the hereditary revenues and the excise, was appropriated to the civil expenditure of the Crown, including such things as the personal expenses of the court, the salaries of judges and ambassadors, the civil service, and pensions. The "Civil List," as this portion of the revenue came to be called,

* This tax was abolished in 1689. It had involved domiciliary visits by the tax collectors, and had pressed more heavily on the poor than on the rich, and William, on his way to London in 1688, had been inundated by petitions against it.

was thus separated from the other charges of government, and the division facilitated the extension of parliamentary control in the future over all other expenditure by means of a regular adoption of the principle of appropriation.

A still more important change was introduced in the method of voting the revenue. Both Whigs and Tories united in thinking that it would be folly to repeat the mistake made at the Restoration of granting a large annual income to the king for life, by means of which Charles II. and his successor had been rendered independent of all future control. Accordingly William and Mary were granted the excise for life, but the customs duties were given for four years only. William was furious at the apparent distrust which this seemed to imply, but Burnet was right in telling him that "if he would accept the gift for a term of years and settle the precedent he would be reckoned the deliverer of succeeding ages as well as of the present." * Small as the change may seem, it was one of the most important results of the revolution, for it finally established the control of Parliament over the royal revenue, and thus rendered it impossible for any future sovereign to rule in opposition to the will of his subjects; and even to-day the convention by which a Ministry resigns when it loses the confidence of Parliament is based on no law, but on the knowledge that, in the last resort, the House of Commons can withhold supplies and so paralyse the whole machinery of government.

A revenue of £1,200,000 was barely sufficient to meet the expenses of government in time of peace; it was totally inadequate to cover the cost of the war with France, and resort had to be made to additional taxes and loans in order to cover the deficiency. New duties were imposed on tea, coffee, chocolate, and spices; the beer tax was increased; a poll tax was imposed, graduated according to the possession of property; stamp duties and licences for hackney and stage coaches were

* Burnet, Vol. III., p. 58.

introduced ; a carefully graded scale of payments for marriages, births, and deaths was levied ; and even lotteries were not thought immoral by the State in these pre-Victorian days, for a lottery loan for a million was floated, with £40,000 to be distributed among the drawers of prizes.

Many of these measures were the product of the resourceful and ingenious brain of the young Charles Montague, who became a Commissioner of the Treasury in 1692 and Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1694. But his chief title to fame rests on three other innovations which deserve more detailed consideration because they have played such a prominent part in English financial history.

Two of them came into existence in 1692. The land tax was not a new idea, since it was the descendant of the old subsidy, which had been collected since the Restoration by assessing the various counties according to their supposed ability to pay, and during the first three years of the war, money had been raised in this way. But in 1692 an entirely new assessment of all landed estates was made, and a tax of four shillings in the pound was imposed upon their value. It proved to be a most productive expedient, bringing in two and a half millions a year as soon as it was collected. To the Chancellors of the eighteenth century it became what the income tax has been to their successors of a later day—a tax which yielded a rich return, could easily be increased, and was, in the existing condition of society, as equitable as any tax could be.

The same session was marked by the foundation of the National Debt. The wealth which was being steadily amassed in the country could find no adequate investment in the few companies whose stock was purchasable, and Montague conceived the idea of attracting some of this floating capital into the coffers of the State by means of a Government loan. In the past money had been lent to the Government for short periods by wealthy citizens of London. What was new in the loan of

1692-93 was the wider appeal made, and the definite allocation of new duties on beer and other liquors to provide a fixed interest and repayment of capital until the whole debt was redeemed. A million pounds was raised by the sale of life annuities, paying 10 per cent. up to the year 1700, and 7 per cent. afterwards, the debt being automatically extinguished on the death of the last annuitant. From this small beginning has sprung the greatest factor in the history of English finance. The system of borrowing to meet abnormal expenditure, and so relegating the duty of repayment to posterity, may have been conducive to extravagance and encouraged wars which could not otherwise have been waged, but, on the other hand, it has provided the investor with the securest investment the world has ever known, it has increased to an incalculable degree the stability of the Government by acting as a consistent deterrent to revolution, and it was by its means, backed by the credit of the British Government, that the world was saved from the predominance of Louis XIV., of Napoleon, and of the Emperor William II.

The foundation of the Bank of England in 1694 was a necessary corollary to the development of this great credit system. Hitherto wealthy men had kept their money in their own strong rooms, or had deposited it with one of the city goldsmiths, who issued notes against deposits which were circulated like coin among the commercial community. For many years the foundation of a national bank, on the lines of those which already existed at Venice, Genoa, Amsterdam, and Hamburg, had been discussed, but nothing was done until the financial needs of the Government forced it to adopt the idea as a means, primarily, of raising a loan to meet a war-time deficit. In 1694 Montague determined to raise a loan of £1,200,000 at 8 per cent., subscribers to which were to be incorporated as "The Governor and Company of the Bank of England," with powers to issue notes, deal in bullion, and make advances to merchants. People who deposited money with the new

bank were to receive $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest, and to be able to draw it out whenever they wished ; and in deference to the fears expressed that the bank might become a valuable prop to royal absolutism, a clause was added forbidding it to advance money to the Crown without consent of Parliament. The loan was quickly raised,



THE OLD MERCERS' HALL, WHERE THE BANK OF ENGLAND WAS FIRST ESTABLISHED.

and an institution thus came into being which in the course of time was to exercise a powerful influence over the finance of the whole world. At home its importance was quickly established. To the merchant it offered steady interest on his deposits, cheap loans for trading purposes, and credit instruments of complete security ; while to the Government it was an ever-ready source of supply in times of financial emergency.

In this way it became an important factor in establishing the power of the monied class which was to be one of the main characteristics of the following century, and together with the National Debt it acted as a strong bulwark to the revolution settlement, for annuitants, shareholders, and depositors alike zealously supported the new Government because it was feared that the Stuarts would repudiate both debts if they were restored.

One other financial measure of William's reign deserves to be mentioned. This was the recoinage of the silver currency in 1696. Since the reforms of Elizabeth's reign the silver coins had been so clipped and pared by sharpers, that the real value of the money had ceased to have any relation to its nominal one. After the Restoration milled coins of full weight had been issued; but in spite of fierce legislation, Gresham's law, that bad money will drive out the good, worked steadily, and the new coins were exported or melted down while the clipped pieces continued to circulate with an ever-increasing diminution of value, until it became almost impossible to preserve any stability of wages or prices. By the year 1695 the evil had grown so great that it had become imperative to face the problem. It was resolved, therefore, that after a certain date the clipped coinage should cease to be legal tender, and that coins of full weight should be issued in exchange for them, the public bearing the expense of the change. To meet this £1,200,000 was advanced by the Bank of England on the security of a new window tax, and in 1696 the great recoinage began. Its immediate effect was to produce a terrible shortage of ready money, but this was soon remedied, and the beneficial effects of a stable medium of exchange, which were felt by all who had anything to buy or sell, soon proved the wisdom of those who had so boldly faced the difficulty in the midst of a great war.

The Place Bill and the Triennial Act

Two Bills which were introduced into this Parliament aimed at working out the implications of the general principles enunciated in the Bill of Rights, and serve to reveal some of the constitutional problems of the period.

Ever since Charles II. had systematically corrupted Parliament by a lavish distribution of pensions and remunerative offices among its members, protests had been raised against the influence which the Crown wielded in this manner. The evil still continued after the revolution, and at the end of 1692 a serious effort was made to remedy it. Contemporary opinion favoured Locke's idea that king, Parliament, and judicature should be three equal, separate, and independent powers with no measure of control over each other; and it was on the basis of this theory of the separation of powers that the attempt was made to abolish the corruption of place-men. It was proposed to prohibit all members of the House of Commons elected after February 1, 1693, from holding any office of profit under the Crown. The result would have been to exclude every member of the Ministry from the Lower House, and consequently to have created a complete severance between the executive and the representative chamber of the legislature. The separation of powers would have been achieved, but at the cost of rendering impossible that responsibility of ministers to the House of Commons, and through it to the people, which is the basic principle of the modern Constitution. In 1692 the Bill was rejected by the Lords. In 1693 it was again introduced by the Commons, and an amendment of the Upper House was accepted, which provided that although acceptance of office by a member of the House of Commons was to involve forfeiture of his seat, yet he might continue to sit if re-elected after his appointment. In this form, which really stripped it of half its efficiency, the Bill was presented to William, but he vetoed it,

because he regarded it as an encroachment upon his prerogative; and even a very plain-spoken "representation" from the Commons failed to make him give way. For the moment, therefore, the problem had to be shelved.

In January 1693 a Bill was introduced into the House of Lords by Shrewsbury providing that no Parliament should last for more than three years. The Long Parliament of Charles II.'s reign had proved that the indefinite prolongation of a Parliament which happened to be favourable to the Crown might be just as dangerous to the liberties of the nation as failure to summon Parliament at all, and it was to remedy the omission of any provision against the menace in the Bill of Rights that Shrewsbury now proposed his measure. It at once aroused a vigorous controversy. The king disliked it as a limitation of his authority, and the Commons were furious at the proposed curtailment of their existence. "The Lords," it was said, "have judged, convicted, and condemned us to dissolution." But there were solid reasons for the Bill which evoked the support of the electorate, for it was hoped that it would put an end to the enormous expenses of candidates and to the consequent corruption at elections, and that it would ensure the better behaviour of members towards their constituencies. The Bill was passed, but William vetoed it. The following year (1694) it was again passed, and the king then gave way and accepted it.*

Death of the Queen

In December 1694 Queen Mary was stricken with smallpox and died, to the great grief of the nation. She was a woman of considerable ability, and her sweetness of disposition and graceful, conciliating demeanour had done much to compensate for the brusque and retiring behaviour of her husband. She was a zealous adherent of the Anglican Church, her charities were bounteous,

* It lasted until the Septennial Act of 1716.

and her private life spotless. To these qualities she added a quick understanding, feminine shrewdness, and a courage which did not shrink from responsibility. During William's absences abroad she became the ruler of the country, and showed both capacity for government and independence and vigour of opinion in that difficult position. The calm bravery with which she faced the crisis of 1690, when the French were supreme in the Channel and a landing seemed imminent, was especially commendable in one who, as her letters show, was naturally timid and conscious of her own weakness. Her loss was a great blow to William, for her better title to the crown, together with the greater popularity she enjoyed, earned for the new sovereigns much support which was lost when she died, and an unpopular alien with only distant claims to his seat was left upon the throne alone. After her death a board of Lords Justices was appointed annually to govern the country while the king was absent.

The First Administrations of Cabinet Government

It was typical of William's policy of attempting to govern by a mixed Ministry of Whigs and Tories, that when he went to Ireland in 1690 he named an informal committee of five Tories and four Whigs by whose advice Mary was to be guided while he was away. Such an arrangement was only possible because the four distinguishing features of the modern Cabinet had not yet been evolved. Ministers were not selected from one party only ; they were responsible to the sovereign and not to a majority in the House of Commons ; they were not bound by collective responsibility to approve of the Government's policy or else to resign ; and there was no Prime Minister. The king himself really occupied that position, for he was primarily responsible for the determination of policy ; he chose and dismissed his Ministers at will ; and he was under no obligation to accept their advice. William sanctioned Marl-

borough's expedition to Ireland in the autumn of 1690 against the advice of his Ministers, and he vetoed the Triennial Bill in 1693, although no Minister opposed it or accepted responsibility for his act. In foreign affairs he frequently acted without even consulting his advisers. The Cabinet at this time was merely an inner circle of advisers within the Privy Council, consisting of those few members who enjoyed the king's special confidence, and who, by their tenure of the high offices of state and by their presence on the various committees to which the Council apportioned its business, practically controlled the whole administration. In this form it had developed during the preceding half century, as the Privy Council, which had been the great executive organ under the Tudors, grew too large and heterogeneous to fulfil its duties, and it was still a very unpopular body both because of its novelty and because of the secrecy which veiled its meetings. Unanimity of opinion was not expected in it, so that neither party could exercise any real control over it, and it was in no way responsible to Parliament. It was only natural that such an informal committee should be distrusted and attacked as a potential engine of despotism.

But circumstances were at work evolving the responsibility and unanimity of the Cabinet during William's reign. The new dependence of the king upon Parliament which sprang from the revolution made it inevitable that for the future the broad lines of national policy should conform in the long run to the will of Parliament, and as Parliament was divided on party lines this meant that the executive must reflect the opinions of the predominant party, or, in other words, be organized upon a party basis itself. The idea was repugnant to the minds of those who, like the king himself, adhered to the old ideal of a government which should be above party; but the changed relations between the executive and the legislature since 1688 slowly enforced its adoption and rendered any other course impossible. The principle did not endure per-

manently until circumstances had repeatedly compelled its repetition, because by no other means could harmony be maintained between the Ministry and Parliament, and the full establishment of Cabinet government belongs to a later period ; but the reign of William saw the first manifestation of the circumstances which made it inevitable.

In 1693 the logic of events forced the king to relinquish his policy of ruling through a mixed Ministry and to turn exclusively to the Whigs. They were ardent supporters of the revolution, while the Tories had only accepted it as a regrettable necessity ; they were united in policy and strongly organized in Parliament under a "Junto" of five able leaders,* whereas the Tories were split up into innumerable shades of opinion ; and, above all, the Whigs, who numbered in their ranks most of the merchant and monied classes, favoured the war with France and financed the Government loans, whilst the Tories were beginning to cry out against the heavy taxation, which hit the landed gentry who formed the backbone of the party, and to demand peace, or at least the restriction of England's share in the struggle to purely naval activities. These facts, together with the experience that a mixed body of Ministers pleased neither party and led to disputes in the Ministry itself, compelled William reluctantly to accept the advice of the Earl of Sunderland † and to rely entirely on the Whigs. Only by so doing could he hope to secure the necessary supplies from Parliament to continue the war. Between 1693 and 1696 the Tories in the Ministry were slowly eliminated until only two remained—Godolphin, whose Toryism was only nominal, at the Treasury, and Carmarthen (Duke of Leeds since 1694), who continued to be Lord President until 1698, though he lost all real power after being impeached for taking bribes from the

* Russell, Somers, Montague, Wharton, Shrewsbury.

† King James II.'s old Minister who, after flying in 1688, had returned in 1691 and made his peace with the new sovereigns, over whom he soon acquired considerable influence.

East India Company in 1695. In the general election of 1695 a Whig majority was returned, so that Ministry and Parliament both had the same political complexion, and something like the modern system of a homogeneous Cabinet supported by a party majority in the House of Commons existed for the first time. It was a temporary expedient forced upon the king by the exigencies of the war, and after peace was signed it was abandoned; but, as will be seen, in the next reign the Spanish Succession war again produced a similar situation, and the long supremacy of the Whigs which began with the accession of George I. at length permanently established the system of party Ministries, owning responsibility to Parliament rather than to the sovereign whose nominal servants they were.

The Assassination Plot of 1696

In February 1696 the country was startled by the discovery of a Jacobite plot to assassinate the king. The extreme wing of the Tory party, which had never accepted the revolution settlement, went into permanent opposition to the new régime, and it was soon reinforced by many who had acquiesced in the deposition of James, but had been alienated by the new religious settlement, the social aloofness of William, or the refusal of some desired place or office. The irreconcilable among the discontented betook themselves to treason, and plotted for the restoration of their old master. The more timid in both parties served the new king and at the same time insured against a counter-revolution by intriguing with the old monarch. Shrewsbury, Godolphin, Russell, and Marlborough were only the most exalted among the many who had secret communications with James while they professed loyal service to his successor in England. Deceived by the prudent inconstancy of such men, the more fervent Jacobites easily persuaded themselves that the return of James would be welcomed by many if only he could

land in England, or if William could be removed from the scene. France naturally fostered such schemes, and until the Peace of Ryswick put an end to their hope of success, the English Government was embarrassed by a series of plots which aimed at the restoration of James.

The most dangerous of these began in the spring of 1695 with the proposal of several Tories of low repute to assassinate William, in the hope that during the anarchy which would ensue, as Mary was now dead, James might easily be restored. In its original form the plan had to be postponed, because William had left England for the Netherlands before the necessary arrangements had been made. By the autumn its direction had been taken over at Saint Germain, and it was now proposed to combine the assassination with a general rising of the Jacobites, which the French king promised to help by a simultaneous invasion. The Duke of Berwick, whom James sent over to England to arrange for the insurrection, failed in his mission, for the Jacobites refused to rise until the French landed, and the French refused to invade until the Jacobites rose; but Sir George Barclay, another of James's agents, got into touch with Sir William Parkyns, Robert Charnock, George Porter, and Sir John Fenwick, the ringleaders of the assassination plot, and it was arranged to attack William at Turnham Green on his way from Kensington to Richmond, where he went to hunt every Saturday. February 15, 1696, was chosen for the day, and about forty of the conspirators were to assemble and attack the royal coach in a narrow lane as it returned from the river. James was to wait at Calais with a French army, and was to cross the Channel as soon as he heard of William's death.

But at the last moment the plot was secretly betrayed to the Earl of Portland, and for the next two Saturdays the king's hunting was postponed on various pretexts while evidence was quietly collected. On 23rd February the Government was at length in a position to strike,

and the conspirators were all arrested in their various hiding-places in London. Barclay alone managed to escape. The rest paid for their treason with their lives. When the whole story was unfolded in Parliament it evoked an outburst of loyalty and affection to William which made his position stronger than it had ever been. An "Association" was drawn up recognizing him as the rightful King of England, and promising to defend him, or, if need be, to revenge his death on those responsible for it; and it was signed by nearly every member of both Houses and by the great body of the nation. The Jacobites lost all sympathy by stooping to murder and foreign invasion in order to accomplish their design, and for the remainder of his reign William was free from any further plots against his life and throne.

King and Parliament, 1697-99

The conclusion of peace with France in September 1697 led to a coolness between William and his third Parliament before its dissolution, under the Triennial Act, in 1698. This arose from one of the most interesting and important developments which had taken place since the revolution. The two great parties were clearly defined, but their internal organization was still immature, and consequently they faded off at the edges into groups and individuals whose allegiance was wavering and whose attitude was uncertain. A number of these waverers, drawn from both parties, had gradually coalesced around a programme which recalled that of the old "Country" party of Charles II.'s reign, and had thus laid the foundations of that new hybrid Toryism which was to play such a prominent part during the reign of Anne. Their leader was Robert Harley, who had first entered Parliament as a Whig in 1689, but had subsequently gone into opposition because he disliked the war policy of the Government and the excessive control which he considered that the king exercised over Parliament through influence and cor-

ruption. His politics are difficult to label, for he was essentially a non-party man who believed in an equitable balance in the Constitution between the monarchy and Parliament. He wished, in fact, to reconcile the position and authority of the Crown before the revolution



ROBERT HARLEY, EARL OF OXFORD.

(From an engraving after Kneller.)

with that of Parliament after it, and it was because he felt that the scales were tilting against Parliament that he began to oppose the king. He thus combined much of the old Tory respect for the throne with a frank acceptance of the revolutionary settlement, and the rest of his career was devoted to an attempt to act upon

this attractive but, as events were to prove, impracticable theory. In William's reign the object of the new group was, briefly, to complete the constitutional settlement of 1688; to resist the undue influence of the monarchy; to establish the power of Parliament; and to secure the liberty of the subject. To this was added opposition to the management of the war with France, especially to the huge taxation, to the involving of England in a great continental campaign instead of restricting her attention to the navy, and to the ruin of English trade which—so it was alleged—sprang from this defective policy. Harley and his followers had showed their strength as early as March 1695, when they were able to secure the election of Paul Foley, one of their number, as Speaker. After the Peace of Ryswick the need for financial retrenchment, and jealousy of a standing army which still survived from the days of Cromwell and James II., led Harley to propose that all but 8,000 men of the army should be disbanded. To William's intense annoyance the motion was carried. It gave him, as Burnet wrote, "the greatest distaste of anything that had befallen him in his reign," for apart from personal predilections, which prompted him to retain a considerable force, he realized the imminent danger of another conflict with France over the Spanish Succession question.

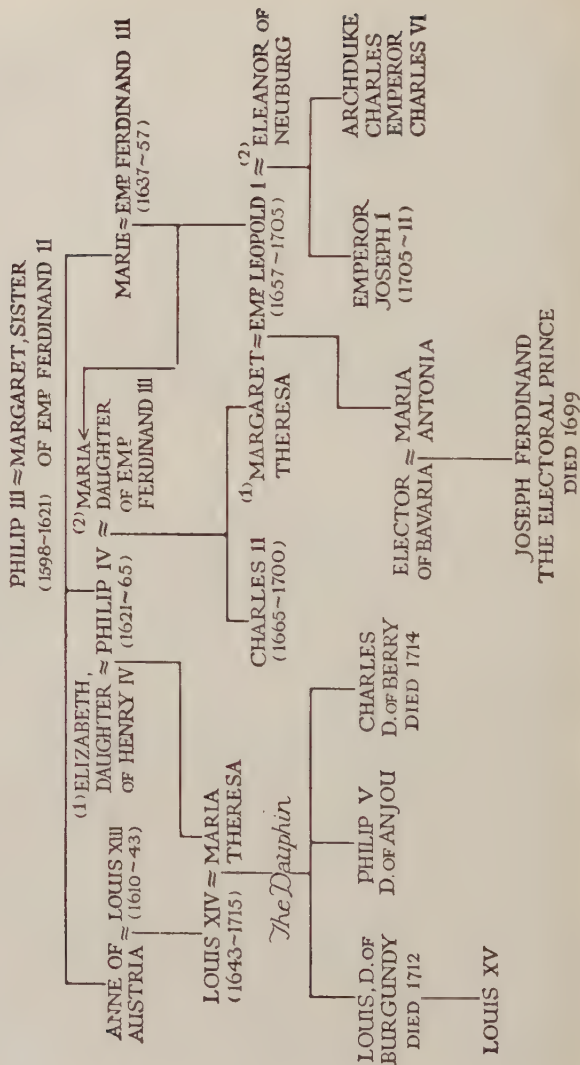
The fourth Parliament of the reign, which met at the end of 1698, soon proved how strongly that revulsion of feeling against all things continental was flowing which generally appears after England has been engaged in a European war. The king became intensely unpopular because he took advantage of the peace to spend more of his time in Holland; his Dutch friends and servants, many of whom had performed valuable services for England, shared this disfavour, and complete isolation from the Continent became the favourite policy. Nor was the prospect of good relations between William and Parliament improved by the fact that although the Tories had obtained a majority in the

recent election, the Whig Ministry still remained in office instead of resigning, as would have been the case under modern constitutional procedure. In January 1699 the Commons forced the king to agree to a further reduction of the army to 7,000 men, who were all to be native Englishmen. The latter clause was a personal humiliation for William, since it compelled him to send his favourite Dutch guards back to Holland. At first he thought of abdicating and retiring with them, but he finally sacrificed his pride and consented to the reduction, for he was by this time engaged in momentous negotiations with France over the question of the Spanish Succession, and he saw that it was essential at all costs to retain the connection between England and Holland.

The Spanish Succession Question, and the Partition Treaties

The problem of the succession to the throne of Spain arose from the fact that King Philip IV., who died in 1665, left only one son, Charles II., a frail infant of four, to succeed him, and that if this boy died without male heirs the crown would have to descend through one of the two daughters of Philip. Of these, the elder, Maria Theresa, had married Louis XIV. of France, and at her betrothal she had renounced all her claims to her father's throne. But this renunciation had been made subject to the payment of a dowry and to confirmation by the Spanish Cortes, and as neither of these conditions had been fulfilled, the French Court regarded it as invalid, and Maria Theresa's son, the Dauphin of France, claimed to be the next heir to the Spanish crown after Charles. The younger daughter of Philip, Margaret, had married the Emperor Leopold I., who had claims of his own on Spain through his mother, the daughter of Philip III. Margaret had also renounced her rights of succession, but her renunciation had lacked many of the necessary formalities, and seemed to have been recognized as null and void by the will of her father, who left his dominions

*Table of descent showing claimants to the
Crown of Spain, 1700.*



to her, failing male heirs to Charles II. Her claim descended to her daughter, Maria Antonia, who married the Elector of Bavaria; but before the marriage Leopold had persuaded Maria to renounce her rights in favour of his own sons by a second marriage. This act was of doubtful validity, and if it was ignored, Maria's son, Joseph Ferdinand, who was born in 1692, seemed to have the best title to the Spanish throne.

So far the matter was one of selecting the rightful heir through a complicated series of marriages and renunciations; but it was obviously impossible that the destiny of all the Spanish dominions could remain merely a matter of family interest. Spain had fallen from her past greatness, but she still ruled Naples and Sicily, Tuscany, Milan, the Netherlands and the Indies, and the transfer of such large and important blocks of territory was of vital interest to every European power. This was doubly so when the two most powerful claimants proved to be France and the Emperor, for to add the Spanish Empire to France would give to her that supremacy which great coalitions had with difficulty prevented Louis XIV. from acquiring, whilst to permit the house of Austria to absorb the whole inheritance would revive the Empire of Charles V. and destroy the existing balance of power. It was, in fact, recognized that only the most pressing necessity could persuade France or Austria to acquiesce in the succession of the other without a struggle, so that unless Charles II. of Spain had an heir born to him, or unless some settlement was arranged among the various claimants before his death, another great war seemed inevitable. Unfortunately it soon became apparent that Charles would never have any children, and his wretched health kept all Europe in suspense. He suffered from so many diseases that he was regarded as a sort of "medical curiosity";* and by the time of the Treaty of Ryswick, when he was thirty-six, he was so feeble that the end obviously could not be long delayed.

* Ogg, p. 6.

Louis XIV. was the first to draw attention to the urgency of the question after the peace of 1697. Realizing that, for the moment, France was too exhausted to endure another struggle, he resolved to relinquish the claim of his son to the whole estate, and to approach William III. in order to secure a peaceful settlement of the inheritance on the basis of an amicable partition before Charles died. He turned to William because he knew that the fate of the Spanish dominions was a matter of vital importance to the two maritime states of England and Holland, and that neither of them would permit the Netherlands to pass under French influence or control. He knew also that they would both be extremely jealous of any change in the Indies which might affect their trading interests there.

The suggested negotiations were begun in Paris, and were then taken up by Tallard, the French ambassador in London. After some hesitation William agreed to the proposal, for Parliament had just reduced the army, and it was clear that the prevailing opinion in England would resist intervention in any quarrel over the division of the spoils when Charles died. The negotiations, which were kept secret, were continued in Holland throughout the summer of 1698. William insisted that the bulk of the Spanish Empire, including Spain itself, must go to Joseph Ferdinand, the electoral prince, whose accession would menace the safety of no other Power. Louis finally consented to this arrangement, and it was agreed that on the death of Charles, Spain, the Netherlands, and the Indies should go to the young prince. The Dauphin was to get Naples and Sicily, the Tuscan ports which belonged to Spain, the Marquisate of Finale, and the small but important province of Guipuscoa in the Pyrenees. The Duchy of Milan was to be given to the Archduke Charles, the second son of the Emperor, to whom Leopold had transferred his claims. No notification of this partition treaty was given to any of the English Ministry until it was ready for signing, and then William informed the

Lord Chancellor Somers, but pledged him to secrecy. He demanded sealed powers to sign it, with blanks left for the names of the English plenipotentiaries, and Somers at once dispatched the necessary documents. Early in September the treaty was signed at the Hague by the representatives of England, Holland, and France. News of it soon leaked out, and aroused intense indignation at Madrid, for the pride of the Spaniards could not tolerate the idea that their Empire was to be partitioned. But the treaty was quickly rendered valueless, for in February 1699 Joseph Ferdinand died.

The next twelve months were spent in renewed negotiations for a second partition treaty. The French king insisted that the division must now be between his own family and that of the Emperor, and in February 1700 a new treaty was signed, based mainly on his proposals. By it the Archduke Charles was to succeed to Spain, the Netherlands, and the Indies, while the Dauphin, in addition to his share under the first partition, was to have Milan, on the understanding that it would be exchanged for the Duchy of Lorraine. The Spaniards were as hostile to this as they had been to the former division, and the Emperor, who had just made peace with the Turks at Carlowitz (January 1699), absolutely refused to accept the treaty, or to surrender his title to the whole of the Spanish Empire.

Meanwhile Charles II. was rapidly sinking, and throughout the summer of 1700 a contest was waged between the partisans of France and the Empire around his deathbed. It ended in a victory for the French faction led by Porto Carrero, the Archbishop of Toledo, who had established a complete supremacy over the superstitious mind of the king. In October, Charles signed a will leaving all his dominions to Philip, Duke of Anjou, the second son of the Dauphin.* If Anjou died or succeeded to the French throne, the crown of Spain

* The Dauphin's younger son was chosen, in the hope that by thus rendering impossible the future union of the French and Spanish crowns the other Powers of Europe might more readily accept the will.

was to go to his younger brother, the Duke of Berry, and if he also died without issue or succeeded in France, it was then to pass to the Archduke Charles, who was also to succeed if Philip and his brother refused the crown. This will was undoubtedly popular in Spain, for the great hope of every loyal Spaniard was to preserve the Empire intact, and it was believed that France—the most powerful state on the Continent—would be more likely to secure the integrity of the whole inheritance than the Emperor.

The Act of Settlement, 1701

While these treaties were being negotiated, important changes had taken place in England. The Tory majority in the Commons pressed its attack upon the Whig Ministry for the extravagance, corruption, and inefficiency of its war-time administration. They fastened also upon the grants from Irish land forfeited during the war which William had made to his Dutch friends, and in April 1700 they insisted upon their resumption and sale for the benefit of the public purse. The same month it was resolved to submit an address to the king, requiring him to exclude all foreigners from his councils; but William prorogued Parliament before the address could be drawn up. Some change of government was obviously essential. The Whig Ministry had been crumbling ever since the last election, and Somers, the Lord Chancellor, had with difficulty been saved from impeachment. Negotiations with Harley throughout the summer of 1700 led by September to the formation of a Tory Government, though Harley himself, who clung to his non-party attitude, took only the position of Speaker. In December 1700 William dissolved the Parliament which had inflicted such humiliations upon him; but the election did not alter the balance of parties, and the Tories still had a majority in the new Parliament which met in February 1701.

Its duration was destined to be short, but before it

was dissolved it had passed an Act second in importance only to the Bill of Rights. The Act of Settlement (June 1701) was occasioned by the death of the young Duke of Gloucester, the only surviving child of the Princess Anne. He died in July 1700, leaving his mother as the sole successor to the crown according to the line of descent laid down in the Bill of Rights, and the new Act was primarily intended to provide for the succession after the decease of Anne. The opportunity was also taken to rectify certain omissions in the Bill of Rights, and to prevent for the future several features of William's reign which had aroused the dislike of the new "Country" party. The Act, in fact, reflected the programme which that party had preached since its inception. Constitutionally it was an important corollary to the revolution settlement, while politically it was a thinly-veiled censure upon the king.

It contained seven main clauses :

1. The succession to the throne after Anne was vested in the Princess Sophia of Hanover, the granddaughter of King James I., and in her heirs "being Protestant."—It is from this clause that the present sovereign draws his title to the crown.

2. All future sovereigns were to join in communion with the Church of England.—This was an indirect condemnation of William's Dutch Calvinism and of his lukewarm attitude towards the Anglican Church.

3. The nation was not to be obliged in future to engage in war for the defence of any dominions which did not belong to the Crown of England without the consent of Parliament.—This reflected a favourite, though unjustified, accusation of the Tories against William that he had prolonged the war with France, and pledged England to the partition treaties in the interests of the Dutch.

4. No holder of the crown was in future to go out of England, Scotland, or Ireland without consent of Parliament,—William's frequent sojourns in

Holland were the reason for this clause, but it had to be repealed when George I. became king, for he refused to forgo his regular visits to Hanover.

5. All things relating to the well-being of the kingdom which were properly cognizable in the Privy Council were to be transacted there, and all resolutions in the Council were to be signed by the consenting parties.—This attempt to restore the Privy Council to its old position shows the suspicion with which the Cabinet was regarded at the time. It was argued that government by such a Council was contrary to the spirit of the Constitution since no records were kept, and therefore it was not known who was responsible for the advice given. Collective responsibility was as yet unknown, but contemporary criticism of the Cabinet reveals a firm insistence upon the individual responsibility of Ministers, which this enactment was intended to enforce both by abolishing the secret councils of the Cabinet, and by obliging every Minister to sign the advice he gave. It was, however, soon found that none would advise on such terms, and the clause had to be repealed in 1705.

6. No person who held any office or place under the Crown was to sit in the House of Commons.—This clause revived the Place Bill, and produced a complete severance between the executive and the Lower Chamber; but its disadvantages were speedily experienced, and it was repealed in 1705. By the Regency Act of that year the modern principle was introduced by which certain specified offices exclude altogether from the House of Commons, while acceptance of any other involves the surrender of the holder's seat though he may continue to sit if re-elected.*

* This was amended by Mr. Bonar Law's Government in 1919, so as to save newly-appointed Ministers from the necessity of re-election for nine months after the summoning of a new Parliament. In 1926 the principle of re-election was entirely abolished.

.7. Judges were henceforth to hold their office during good behaviour, and could only be removed by an address of both Houses of Parliament to the king.—Up to 1688 the judges had held office at the royal pleasure,* and the events of the seventeenth century had amply proved that this dependence upon the Crown was a serious menace to the administration of unbiased justice. This clause rendered impossible for the future any repetition of that subservience to royal interests which had so frequently disgraced the Bench in the preceding century.

*The Foundations of a New War with France
Death of William III*

From these matters attention was soon attracted to events which were happening on the Continent. On 1st November King Charles II. of Spain died, and Louis XIV. was forced to decide whether he would accept the will, or adhere to his engagements with the maritime powers. After a few days' hesitation he acknowledged his grandson as King of Spain. It was a violation of all his previous engagements; but, on the other hand, to have refused the crown would merely have transferred it, according to the provisions of the will, to the House of Austria, France's old opponent; and Louis could further argue that as the acceptance of the partition treaty by the rest of Europe had been so unfavourable as to render its enforcement almost impossible without war, his acceptance of the will was the best way of maintaining peace.

For the moment it seemed as though he was right. Philip was proclaimed in Brussels, Naples, and Milan, and entered Madrid in February 1701. The Emperor was furious, but powerless to resist by his own strength.

* Between 1688-1701 the judges had been commissioned during good behaviour, but the principle was not embodied in the law until the Act of Settlement.

All depended upon the attitude of England and Holland, and in spite of the known alarm of William, opinion in both countries favoured Louis's action. In England, especially, opposition to intervention was strong. The army had been reduced, and it was generally said that it did not matter who became king of Spain, since he would quickly become a true Spaniard and forget the land of his birth. William's whole life-work seemed to have been undone by a stroke of King Charles's pen. Yet he did not despair, though for the moment he realized that it was necessary to temporize. He therefore smothered his anxiety and waited calmly for the tide of opinion to turn.

The new Tory Parliament of 1701 gave him little hope, for in April it had become immersed in the congenial work of impeaching Somers for his share in the first partition treaty, and other members of the Whig Junto for peculation during their tenure of office.* But what William could not do, Louis did for him. Once again, as in 1688, he threw away many of his advantages by the arrogance of his behaviour. In December 1700, in direct violation of Charles's will, he recognized the right of Anjou and his successors to the French throne if other nearer heirs failed; and early in 1701 the barrier fortresses in the Netherlands were occupied by French troops, and their Dutch garrisons—which included the flower of Holland's army—were made prisoners. At the same time French companies were formed to trade with the Spanish Indies, the commerce of which Louis revealed every intention of retaining as a monopoly for France. At a conference at the Hague in March 1701 he peremptorily refused to give any guarantee for the separation of the crowns of France and Spain, or even for the future integrity of the Netherlands. In April England and Holland agreed to recognize Philip as King of Spain; but Louis's behaviour had already aroused alarm in both countries. The Dutch, who were more

* These impeachments eventually collapsed owing to a dispute between the two Houses of Parliament, June 1701.

immediately threatened in the Netherlands, sent over to England in the spring of 1701 demanding the military aid which England was pledged to give under the treaty of 1677, and Parliament promised to fulfil the obligation. During the next few months opinion in England grew steadily in favour of war, especially among the influential merchant class, which quickly realized the danger to trade if France was permitted to absorb or control the Spanish American colonies and Italian possessions. Parliament was bombarded with petitions urging it to stand loyally to the king, and though it showed its resentment of the unpalatable advice by imprisoning certain gentlemen of Kent who presented one such petition, the popular clamour made its influence felt. By June 1701 it was so far successful that Parliament agreed to support the king in "such alliances as he should think fit to make with the Emperor and the States General (*i.e.* Holland) for the preservation of the liberties of Europe, the prosperity and peace of England, and for reducing the exorbitant power of France." On the Continent William was meanwhile slowly building up a coalition against Louis between the Emperor, Holland, Denmark, Brandenburg, the Palatinate, Hanover, and several minor German states; and early in September he had the satisfaction of completing this by the signing of a triple alliance between England, Holland, and the Emperor. The object of this alliance was "to procure for the Emperor a just and reasonable satisfaction for his pretensions to the succession in Spain, and a sufficient guarantee for the dominions and trade of England and Holland." This clause was further defined in a secret treaty, by which it was agreed to conquer the Netherlands and establish a strong barrier there, and to win Milan, Naples, and Sicily for the Emperor, whilst England and Holland were to look for their gains in the Indies.

A few days later Louis committed his crowning blunder. On 16th September King James II. died at Saint Germain, and his host, with impolitic generosity,

soothed his deathbed by the recognition of his son as King of England. It was a flagrant breach of the Peace of Ryswick, and it united Whig and Tory alike in opposition to France. William at once seized the opportunity and dissolved Parliament. In the new one which met in December 1701 the Whigs made some gains, but the Tories probably still had a small majority, though they had only retained their seats by abandoning all opposition to war. Money was at once voted for the fleet and army, the Pretender was attainted, and an abjuration oath obliging all who held office either in Church or State to "abjure" the Pretender and recognize William as "rightful and lawful" sovereign—a phrase to which the Tories had successfully objected in 1689—afforded one more proof of the decay of Jacobitism in the party.

The stage was thus set for a new conflict with France ; but William was not destined to play any part in it. At the very moment of his triumph, when all his difficulties had vanished, he was summoned by a sterner call than that which had drawn him so many times to the battlefields of Belgium. For some time his health had been failing, and a fall from his horse, which broke his collar-bone, proved more than his enfeebled body could stand. He was carried to Kensington, and rallied for a few days, but his strength finally failed and he died on March 19, 1702.

Chapter V

THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE, 1702-9

Queen Anne

THE new queen had none of the great gifts of her predecessor. Her character was commonplace, her intellect dull and uninformed, and, with the exception of a voice of unusual purity and sweetness, she lacked even the personal graces which her high station required. She was devoutly attached to the Anglican Church, pure in her life, warm-hearted and affectionate, and generous to a degree of prodigality ; but she was almost entirely without original opinions, and was readily influenced by a stronger mind. Yet beneath this easy-going good nature and mental indolence there lurked the peevish obstinacy of her race, and at rare intervals she showed flashes of independence which suggested a deep but undeveloped strength of character. It was this core of Stuart inflexibility running through her nature which gave Anne a greater influence upon the politics of her reign than her outward pliancy seemed to promise.

She was happiest in the home circle with her husband, Prince George of Denmark, an amiable but insignificant individual whose main interests in life were the table, the bottle, and horse-racing. In spite of their failure to rear any of their seventeen children, their married life was a happy one, for Anne was the embodiment of all the domestic virtues, and by her purity, and affection, and the dignity and resignation with which she had faced the loss of all her offspring, she won a respect which

did something to compensate for her lack of regal attributes.

When she ascended the throne she was entirely untrained for her great office. Her father, James II., had petted her, but had kept her in entire ignorance of all state affairs. With William and Mary she had quarrelled early in their reign, and though William was reconciled after the death of his wife, he accorded her only the most frigid politeness, and excluded her from all knowledge of the Government. Nor had she the interest to resent or to fight against this enforced ignorance; and her attitude to the great literary, artistic, and scientific movements of the period was equally one of uninterested torpor. Her prosaic mind moved unconcernedly within its own narrow orbit regardless of the galaxy of genius which surrounded it, and she contributed nothing but her name to the brilliance of the generation over which she ruled.

Marlborough

The chief lustre of her reign was to be provided by the man who now rose to power with her. John Churchill was the second son of Sir Winston Churchill, whose family came from Devonshire. He was born in 1650, and as a boy was appointed a page of honour to the Duke of York—afterwards James II. At sixteen he entered the army, serving both at Tangier and in the Franco-Dutch War of 1672-78. In the latter he fought on the Rhine under Turenne, and distinguished himself sufficiently to attract the notice of that great captain. In 1678 he married Sarah Jennings, who had joined the court of the Duchess of York as a girl of twelve, and had become the bosom companion of the young Princess Anne, over whom her masterful mind quickly gained a complete ascendancy. During the period of the Exclusion Bills Churchill adhered loyally to James, and was rewarded in 1683 with a barony and the command of the Horse Guards. For his services at Sedgemoor he was raised to the rank of major-general and was in high favour with

the new king. But he refused to change his faith during James's reign, and his undoubted adherence to the Anglican Church may serve in some measure to palliate his base treachery in 1688, which, for the rest, can only



QUEEN ANNE.

(From the painting by Kneller.)

be explained by self-interest and a desire to jump on to the winning side. After blinding James with profuse protestations of loyalty up to the last moment, he went over to Orange, and at the same time his wife persuaded Anne to desert her father and fly from London. For this betrayal he was made Earl of Marlborough and a

Privy Councillor in 1689. He fought in the Netherlands in that year and distinguished himself at Walcourt. In 1690 he was not employed until his brilliant expedition to Cork and Kinsale in the autumn, but in 1691 he was again in the Netherlands serving under William. The following year he was discovered to be plotting with the Jacobites against the new Government, and was summarily dismissed from all his offices. For six years he was in disgrace, but King William had early recognized his consummate military genius, and in 1698 he was reconciled to the earl, who was then made governor of Anne's young son, the Duke of Gloucester, and was restored to his military ranks. For the next two years he was one of the Lords Justices during the king's absence, and in 1701 William selected him to command the English forces in the Netherlands and to negotiate for the renewal of the Grand Alliance. The dying king never showed his magnanimity and judgment more than when he thus recognized the greatness of one who had plotted to dethrone him. Marlborough was William's last, and perhaps his greatest, gift to the nation. On Anne's accession he was at once made Captain-General of the English army and given the Garter, while his wife became Groom of the Stole and Mistress of the Robes.

His character was a finer one than his unprincipled career might suggest. He lived in an age of political infidelity, and his own treacheries appeared only as deeper villainies than those of his contemporaries because they were more boldly planned and executed. Self-interest and money were undoubtedly the twin pivots of all his conduct; but he had many compensating qualities. His religious sincerity is beyond question, and the purity of his married life was especially commendable in that age of lax morality. He was, in fact, a man of peculiar sensitiveness and delicacy, and disliked licentiousness both in speech and action. Nor had he any of the callous indifference to suffering which his profession sometimes produced in that period. He took all possible care of the wounded, treating those of

the enemy as well as his own men, he constantly lamented the distress which his campaigns imposed upon the civil inhabitants of the Netherlands and Bavaria, and the sight of the battlefield of Malplaquet, with its ghastly litter of dead and dying, actually made him ill.

But a gracious polished manner, unwearied patience, tact, and self-command were his greatest gifts. Personal beauty and charm combined with a smooth persuasive tongue to make him, as Lord Chesterfield said, "irresistible either by man or woman." The richest unction of flattery, which in any other man would have been treated as the basest sycophancy, fell from his lips in graceful compliments that carried a conviction of truth and sincerity, and won the grudging affection even of those who doubted his honesty. To this personal magnetism and winning manner he added a patient suavity of disposition which was unshakeable. "Patience," he once said, "will overcome all things." The frustration of his best-laid plans by jealous, carping, or incompetent generals; the ruffled pride of wavering allies; the double-dealing of treacherous diplomatists; the heart-breaking procrastination and lukewarmness of the Imperial court; repeated political crises in England; and a termagant of a wife were all faced with the same bland imperturbable self-possession. His temper was always under control, and the bitterest disappointments never clouded the courteous smile with which he faced the world. Only a man of supreme tact and self-command could have curbed the centrifugal tendencies of the clumsy alliance which William had built up, and its survival through ten years of war is the best proof of the genius of Marlborough.

As a general he ranks without a peer in English history. Wellington alone can be compared with him, but Wellington only commanded in a secondary theatre of the great war against Napoleon and was not primarily responsible for his downfall, whereas Marlborough exercised a general supervision over every area of the struggle against Louis XIV., and in his own sector of

the conflict he repeatedly encountered and defeated the flower of the French army. Fighting in the most heavily fortified country in Europe, and with a motley array of nationalities against an enemy equipped with every scientific device for defence then known, he was yet able to invade France, to bring Louis to his knees, and so to save Europe.

His strategy was what later generations learnt to call Napoleonic. He had the supreme military gift of being able to read his opponent's mind, and he was always successful in creating "the fog of war" which was necessary for the concealment and execution of his own plans. His long boots did the rest. Time after time the enemy were bewildered and caught unawares by the rapidity of his approach, and victory was half secured before a shot had been fired. Tactically he was a believer in the shock of a cavalry charge, and many a battered centre or rolled-up wing of the French bore witness to the efficacy with which he handled his squadrons. But he did not neglect his infantry, and paid great attention to fire discipline, which has always been a distinguishing feature of the English soldier. Above all, he looked after the material welfare of his men. Like Napoleon, he knew that an army marches on its stomach, and his commissariat was organized to a high pitch of efficiency by General Cadogan. So, too, he always saw that the troops were regularly and fully paid. That this care was appreciated his men proved by the affectionate nickname of "Corporal John" which they loved to give him, and, in sterner manner, by the fatigues they endured and the heroism they displayed at his behest. His genius, backed by their loyalty, won for the allies the most dazzling series of victories which Europe had yet seen, and finally shattered the menace of French hegemony which had hung over the Continent since the rise of Louis XIV.

The War, 1702-3

All the necessary preliminaries for the new struggle with France had been settled before William died ; but war was not actually declared until May 4, 1702. In



JOHN CHURCHILL, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

(From the painting by Van der Werff.)

July Marlborough joined the allied army of 60,000 men near Nimwegen. The Dutch had agreed to give him the command of their troops, but he had not the same personal authority as the late king, and he was hampered by the presence of civilian field deputies whose consent was necessary to every important move, and by the ill-concealed jealousy of the Dutch generals.

In the previous war William had striven to defend the Netherlands against France. Now Marlborough was faced with the work of reconquering them, for in 1701, acting on behalf of Philip, the new King of Spain, the French had taken peaceful possession of the whole country. In June 1702 the Dutch had succeeded in taking Kaiserswerth, and so cleared the lower Rhine and Meuse; but the French still threatened their southern frontier. Consequently it became Marlborough's first task to remove this pressure. In September he liberated a considerable section of the Meuse Valley by taking Venloo, Stephanswerth, and Roermund, and he closed the campaign in the last week of October by securing the great fortress of Liége. On his return to England he was rewarded for these services with a dukedom and a large annual pension.

Meanwhile the Imperialist general, Prince Louis of Baden, had besieged and taken Landau (September), but was forced to retreat hurriedly when the Elector of Bavaria suddenly joined France and seized Ulm. In October he was defeated by a French army under Marshal Villars at Friedlingen, but, fortunately for the Emperor, it was too late for the French and Bavarians to join forces. In Italy, where the war had opened in 1701, the Imperialists under Prince Eugene of Savoy failed to take Cremona, and fought an indecisive battle with the French at Luzzara in August 1702.

At sea an Anglo-Dutch expedition under Admiral Sir George Rooke, which carried a force commanded by the Duke of Ormond, was sent to seize Cadiz so that it might be used as a naval base against Toulon, as it had been in the last war. But the city proved too strongly fortified to be taken, and after plundering the neighbouring villages the troops were re-embarked in September. On his way home Rooke was able to redeem this ignominious fiasco by a stroke which touched the public imagination. Hearing that a Spanish treasure fleet was sheltering in Vigo harbour, he sailed in and burnt or sunk fifteen men-of-war and eighteen galleons, besides

taking more than a million in booty (October). Vigo effaced the disgrace of Cadiz, and Rooke found himself the rival of Marlborough in popular favour when he arrived in England.

In the Netherlands the campaign of 1703 was comparatively uneventful. After taking Bonn * in May, Marlborough proposed to win Antwerp and Ostend, and so secure more direct communications with England. This plan was ruined by the folly of the Dutch general, Opdam, who hurried into action prematurely and was soundly beaten at Eckeren, near Antwerp (June). After this the Dutch would not sanction an assault on the lines which Boufflers and Villeroy occupied behind the Mehaigne. All that Marlborough could do was to take the small fortress of Huy in August, and at the close of the campaigning season he managed also to secure Limburg and Guelders.

For the Emperor the year was disastrous. While the Hungarians, who had rebelled under George Rákóczy in 1701, drove back the Imperial forces to Pressburg and ravaged Moravia and Silesia, Baden could do nothing but look on from the great fortified lines of Stollhofen in Alsace while Villars took Kehl, and, crossing the Black Forest, joined forces with the Elector of Bavaria. In September they defeated the last force which lay between them and Vienna at Höchstädt. In Italy Vendôme was pushing Eugene back to the passes leading to the Tyrol, and it seemed as though nothing could prevent him from joining Villars and the Bavarians and dictating peace at Vienna. At the last moment, however, the Emperor was saved by Savoy joining the alliance in October, which forced Vendôme to retire in order to cover his communications with France, and by a quarrel between Villars and the Elector which delayed any move against Vienna until it was too late. But Augsburg was taken, and in September Marshal Tallard seized Landau and Breisach.

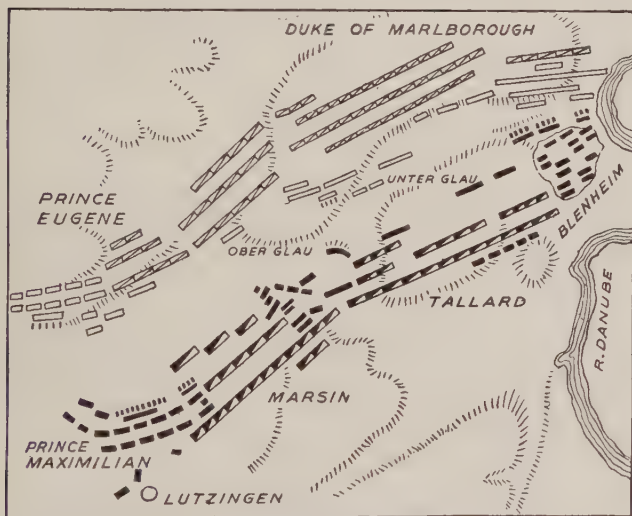
* Bonn belonged to the Elector of Cologne, who had joined the French.

The Blenheim Campaign, 1704

The winter brought a respite, but it was obvious that the Emperor would succumb in the next campaign unless he received powerful assistance. The allied army in the Netherlands was the only force available to save him, but Marlborough knew that the Dutch would never consent to its transfer to the valley of the Danube. To deceive both them and the French he therefore proposed a campaign on the Moselle, which enabled him to mass his troops at Bonn and Coblenz without arousing suspicions of his real purpose. Then, at the end of May, he suddenly struck south through Mainz. It was a desperate gamble, justified only by the urgency of the Emperor's need, and its success depended entirely upon the secrecy which enveloped it and on the winning of a speedy and decisive victory. Marlborough did not even warn the Dutch of his intentions until he had actually begun his march south; and it is only fair to add that once the die was cast they loyally accepted his decision and sent him the desired reinforcements. At first the French were perplexed, thinking that he was making either for Alsace or Landau; but his purpose was revealed when he met Prince Eugene at Mundelsheim on 10th June. Three days later Louis of Baden, who had been holding Stollhofen, joined them at Launsheim near Ulm.

It was at once arranged that Eugene should command at Stollhofen, which was being watched by a French army under Marshal Tallard, while Marlborough and Baden attacked the French and Bavarians, who controlled the whole line of the Danube as far as Linz. On 2nd July, under the command of Marlborough, their united forces stormed the Schellenberg, a bell-shaped hill commanding the town of Donauwörth, which was then evacuated by the enemy; a crossing was thus secured over the Danube, and the allies ravaged Bavaria as far south as Munich in the hope of bringing the Elector to terms. Tallard at once hurried up from

Kehl to reinforce the hard-pressed Bavarians, and joined them at Augsburg on 3rd August. Eugene, from Stollhofen, raced with him along the north bank of the Danube and reached Höchstädt on the same day. The Franco-Bavarian army now moved on Dillingen in the hope of separating Eugene and Marlborough, but the former retired down the Danube to the line of the river



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF BLENHEIM.

Kessel, while the latter hastily extricated himself from a dangerous position by a superb retreat from Friedburg, and was able to join forces with Eugene on the Kessel on 11th August. To get rid of the aged and timid Baden, he was persuaded to undertake the siege of Ingolstadt, without which a hold could not be kept on Bavaria, and Marlborough and Eugene, who had about 52,000 men left under their command, then prepared eagerly to attack the enemy. Advancing on 12th

August, they found Tallard and the Elector with 56,000 men drawn up behind the Nebel Creek, a small tributary of the Danube, with their right flank resting on the village of Blenheim. The battle was ordered for the following day (13th), and began with an English feint on Blenheim. On the allied right Eugene engaged the Bavarians in difficult country, while in the centre Marlborough's infantry covered the crossing of the Nebel by his cavalry. At 5 p.m. the Duke led a charge against Tallard and the French centre. It was repulsed, but the squadrons reformed, and a second assault broke the French line in two. The Bavarians withdrew in good order, but the French army virtually ceased to exist, and the remnants streamed back to the Rhine a disorganized rabble. It was a crushing victory, which not only saved the Empire and turned the tide of the war, but also broke the moral spell of French invincibility which had existed since the days of Rocroi. Leaving Eugene to besiege Landau, Marlborough moved against Treves and Trarbach to prepare the way for a campaign on the Moselle in the following year, and before the season ended all three places were taken (October–November).

*Extension of the War. The Capture of Gibraltar, and the
Re-conquest of the Netherlands*

A new theatre of operations had meanwhile been opened in Portugal, which had been won over to the alliance by the promise of Spanish territory on the frontier and in South America. In May 1703 the English and Dutch undertook to send 12,000 troops to the Peninsula and to maintain 13,000 Portuguese; and in March 1704 the Archduke Charles, whom the allies now proposed to recognize as King of Spain, landed at Lisbon with an Anglo-Dutch force. This was an important move, for it abandoned the original basis of the alliance, which had been to secure compensation for the Emperor in Italy and elsewhere for his loss of Spain, and

substituted the more ambitious plan of establishing his son on the Spanish throne.

The year witnessed important events at sea. Rooke failed to prevent the French fleet at Brest from sailing for Toulon, and a projected attack on Toulon in conjunction with Savoy had to be abandoned because the latter could not spare the necessary forces. In July Rooke entered the Mediterranean, and after an unsuccessful effort to seize Barcelona for the Archduke Charles, he suddenly appeared before Gibraltar on 6th August, and took it in a few days, thus securing for England her first foothold in the Mediterranean. The Count de Toulouse at once sailed from Toulon to win back the Rock, and on 24th August the only big naval action of the war was fought off Malaga. No ships were taken or sunk on either side, largely because the English fleet ran short of ammunition, having expended most of its stock in taking Gibraltar; but the French retired to Toulon, and since Rooke thus retained his conquest it was strategically an English victory. In September, Gibraltar was besieged by land by a Franco-Spanish force under Marshal Tessé, but Admiral Sir John Leake threw in supplies in November, December, and again in March, and the siege was eventually abandoned in April 1705.

The campaign of 1705 was a disappointing one in the Netherlands. Marlborough could only muster 30,000 men at Treves for his proposed march up the Moselle, by which he hoped to turn the heavily fortified frontier of France in the north-east and advance down the Marne Valley to Paris; and he was unable to move because Baden, who was annoyed at having been excluded from the glories of Blenheim, feigned illness and delayed dispatching the Imperial contingent which had been promised, always postponing his promises to *la semaine à venir* in response to the Duke's urgent messages. In May the French under Villeroy took Huy and besieged Liége, and the Dutch insisted that Marlborough should return to the Netherlands. In July he

retook Huy, broke the French lines on the Little Gheet between Namur and Antwerp, and forced Villeroy back on Louvain. But he was stopped from attacking him on the Dyle, and again near Waterloo, by the opposition of the Dutch generals. Treves was also lost soon after his departure.

In the Peninsula Galway, who commanded the allies in Portugal, failed to take Badajoz, but an expedition under the Earl of Peterborough, a man of brilliant but unstable genius, seized Barcelona on 9th October. This success was followed by the rising of all Catalonia against the French, and the Archduke was recognized as King of Spain under the name of Charles III. In Italy the French took Nice, whilst on the Rhine no event of importance occurred.

In 1706 Marlborough, with his eye on Toulon, and disgusted at the repeated frustration of his plans by the Dutch, wanted to join Eugene in Italy; but before he could move, Villars on the Rhine had driven Baden back, taken Drusenheim and Haguenau, and was preparing to invade the Palatinate, while Villeroy showed a menacing activity in the Netherlands. Fearful for their own safety, the Dutch begged Marlborough to remain, and even consented to do away with the field deputies in order to persuade him. Instead of going to Italy the Duke therefore planned an attack on Namur, but Villeroy, knowing that the Prussian and Hanoverian contingents had not yet joined the allied army, offered battle at Ramillies in the hope of saving the threatened fortress (23rd May). After a feint at the French left, Marlborough launched his main attack on their right. The village of Tavières was taken with sharp fighting, and a cavalry charge then rolled back the French right flank. Villeroy lost 13,000 men and all his artillery, and fell back before a hot pursuit to Ghent. Brussels, Malines, and Alost at once fell to the victors, and a move on Oudenarde soon forced Villeroy back to Courtrai. Ghent, Bruges, and Antwerp opened their gates to the allies, Ostend was besieged and taken

in July, and Menin (August), Dendermond (September), and Ath (October), all fell before the end of the year. Practically the whole of the Netherlands was liberated, and the maritime powers set up a joint provisional government in the name of Charles III.



THE ALLIED FORCES GOING INTO ACTION AT
RAMILLIES.

(From a contemporary medal.)

The Campaigns of 1707, 1708, 1709

On 6th September Eugene defeated the French before Turin and drove them back over the Alps. Only a few French garrisons were left in Italy, and in March 1707 the Emperor agreed by the Convention of Milan to allow them to return unmolested to France on condition that they surrendered the towns which they held. This was an unfortunate and short-sighted policy, because it

released 10,000 to 12,000 French troops, who were speedily sent into Spain.

During the year 1706 the allies had made no progress in the Peninsula. In May, after securing Valencia, which had risen for Charles III., Peterborough was able to relieve Barcelona from a combined land and sea attack of the French under Tessé and Toulouse. In June Galway, starting from Portugal, drove the Spanish, under the Duke of Berwick, before him, and managed to secure Madrid. In August he joined forces with the Archduke, Peterborough, and General Stanhope, who had advanced from Catalonia and taken Saragossa, at Guadalaxara. But the people proved hostile, the country rose behind them, and Berwick, having been reinforced from France, was able to cut them off from Madrid. Peterborough wanted to take Alcala and recover the capital, but he was overruled, and went off in a fit of pique to Italy. Eventually Galway had to retire to winter quarters in Valencia, leaving the French in possession of the whole of the interior. In the following April (1707) he again advanced on Madrid with an army of 15,000 men, but was defeated by Berwick, who had been joined by the troops from Italy, at Almanza (25th April), and all Aragon and Valencia were immediately lost. Nothing but Catalonia was left to Charles, and even that was menaced, for in the autumn the Duke of Orleans besieged and took Lerida.

From Italy Prince Eugene, acting in conjunction with Admiral Sir Cloudesley Shovell, led an expedition against Toulon in 1707. The Emperor, fearing that the destruction of the French fleet might encourage England and Holland to make a separate peace with France, had only agreed to the scheme reluctantly under the importunities of Marlborough. Even then he had starved Eugene of troops in order to send an expedition to conquer Naples. During July and August the Imperialists besieged Toulon, but they had no adequate equipment for a long siege, and the town was strongly

fortified and held by Tessé. In August Eugene had to retire, but his expedition was not entirely fruitless, for in their first alarm the French had sunk their whole fleet of fifty men-of-war to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy.

The campaign of 1707 in the Netherlands was entirely uneventful. Marlborough spent the spring in a visit to Charles XII. of Sweden at Altranstadt, in order to settle the disputes which had arisen between him and the Emperor. When he returned, Vendôme, who now commanded the French, refused to give an opening for



A MEDAL IN CELEBRATION OF OUDENARDE.

a battle, and as the summer was a wet one both armies remained in their entrenchments. Further south at Stollhofen, Villars surprised the Margrave of Bareith, who had been appointed to command the Imperialists after the death of Baden in January, and overran Wurtemberg and Franconia. At the end of the campaign Marlborough was able to persuade the Emperor to replace the incompetent Margrave by the Elector of Hanover, afterwards King George I. of England.

Nothing of importance occurred on the Rhine or in Italy in 1708. In Spain Orleans took Tortosa in June, but the allies were reinforced by a contingent of Imperial

troops under Count Starhemberg. Galway and the Portuguese were then sent back to Lisbon. In August Admiral Leake took Sardinia, and in September he and General Stanhope captured Port Mahon, and so secured the island of Minorca, which remained in English hands until 1783.

In March the French made an attempt to invade Scotland. While the English fleet was driven in by a storm, Admiral Forbin slipped out of Dunkirk with the Pretender and 6,000 troops on board, and sailed up the east coast. An army was quickly collected at York. Many suspected Jacobites were arrested, and the fleet, under Byng, followed up the North Sea in hot pursuit. Forbin reached the Forth, but could not get the expected answer to his signals from the land, and the rapid approach of Byng compelled him to fly north. Eventually he got back to Dunkirk on 7th April without having landed a man on British soil.

Marlborough and Eugene, who had been appointed to command on the Moselle for this year, were planning to unite their armies secretly for a blow at the French in the Netherlands, when Ghent and Bruges, alienated by the harsh rule of the Dutch provisional government, suddenly threw open their gates to the French in July. Encouraged by this, Vendôme determined to storm Oudenarde, which formed a connecting link between Flanders and Brabant, and was the main channel of communication for the allies to the coast. Marlborough, joined by Eugene who had hurried up without his army on receipt of the news, pushed forward by night marches to save this vital point. They covered twice the distance of the French in the same time, and got to Lessines before Vendôme was even aware of their approach. Being thus cut off from their own frontier, the French retired to a defensive position at Gavre, near Oudenarde, and prepared for battle. On 11th July, after marching fifteen miles and with inferior numbers, the allies outflanked and crushed Vendôme's right wing, and took 9,000 prisoners. The victory

opened the road to France, and Marlborough proposed to mask the great fortress of Lille and march straight on Paris. Probably this move would have ended the war, but it was too bold and daring even for Eugene, and it was finally decided to besiege Lille. The city was invested in August, but Count de la Motte, who still held Ghent and Bruges for the French, proved a constant menace to the allied lines of communication with Ostend, and seriously hindered the progress of the siege. On 27th September, however, General Webb, who was conveying a huge train of 700 wagons, defeated de la Motte at Wynendael, and so enabled the siege to continue. The city at length capitulated on 22nd October, and the citadel fell on 9th December. Before the year ended Marlborough had also won back Ghent and Bruges.

Faced with invasion, and with widespread distress in France as a result of the long war, Louis made overtures for peace in the spring of 1709. In 1706 he had offered to cede Naples and Milan to the Archduke Charles, but the allies had stopped the negotiations by insisting that Philip should also renounce the Spanish crown in the Archduke's favour. Now, after striving in vain to retain only Naples for Philip, Louis agreed to surrender the whole of the Spanish heritage. It was an abject submission, but it failed to attain its purpose, for in addition to this renunciation the allies demanded that



QUEEN ANNE CLIPPING THE
WINGS OF THE GALLIC COCK.

(From a caricature of 1708.)

France should compel Philip to relinquish Spain within two months, and, if necessary, help to drive him out by force. Meanwhile, certain French fortresses were to be handed over as guarantees. Louis's pride could not accept such humiliating terms, and the issue was once more referred to the arbitrament of the sword.

On the Rhine and in Italy the new campaign again proved uneventful, while in Portugal Galway was defeated by the Spanish at La Gudina, and so stopped from besieging Badajoz. In Catalonia, Starhemberg was too weak to move until the autumn, when the French troops were recalled as a result of the disasters in the Netherlands, and he was then able to take Balaguer.

While Villars was strongly entrenched on the Bethune-Lens-Douai line, Marlborough and Eugene took Tournai in July after much mining and fierce underground fighting, though the citadel of the town held out until September. They then marched against Mons. To save it Villars moved out to a position at Malplaquet, near to the city. Here he was so placed that a siege was impossible until he was dislodged, and as he had forests on both wings and swamps covering his centre, any assault was certain to be a costly and hazardous operation. Marlborough favoured an immediate attack, but the objections of the Dutch gave Villars two more days in which to strengthen his defences by digging formidable entrenchments. When the attempt was at length made to storm them on 11th September it resulted in one of the bloodiest battles of modern times. The slaughter was due partly to the delay in attacking, and partly to the indiscretion of the Prince of Orange, who went into action before receiving orders from Marlborough. In the end Villars was driven from his trenches, but the allies had lost 20,000 men to the French 11,000, and the latter retired in good order, leaving only 500 prisoners in the victor's hands. The fall of Mons on 9th October was the only fruit of this dearly won victory, and the terrible price paid, together with the poverty of the results attained, lent new force

to the arguments of the peace party, which was steadily gaining influence in England. To understand the remainder of the war and its conclusion, it is necessary to trace the rise and triumph of this party.

*Internal Affairs. Revival of the Tory Party.
Anne's First Ministry*

At home the first eight years of Anne's reign were, with the exception of the union with Scotland, destitute of legislative importance, and the chief interest of the internal history of the period lies in the conflict of parties.

The accession of the new queen produced a great revival in the Tory party. Now that King James was dead, even extremists admitted that Anne had at least a quasi-right to the throne, for only the Pretender could advance a better claim, and even if he had been recognized as king in 1702, when he was only thirteen, his half-sister would still have been the proper person to act as regent and exercise the royal authority during his minority. The fact that she was a devout Anglican, and that even the persuasions of her father had failed to shake her faith, added still further to her popularity with the Tories. On grounds both of legitimacy and of religion she thus enjoyed an allegiance from one of the two great parties in the nation which had been denied to William; and men turned with a fresh glow of enthusiasm from the rule of the alien unsympathetic Dutchman to one whose heart, as she told her first Parliament, was "entirely English," and who represented the old monarchy and Church of pre-revolution days.

Yet Anne herself was not strictly a Tory. She belonged rather to that third middle group whose principle was moderate non-party government ruling in the interests of the whole nation. From the first she was resolved to be the queen of all her subjects, and early in her reign she told Godolphin that she dreaded "falling

into the hands of either party," and begged him to keep her "out of the power of the merciless men of both partys." But this political impartiality was crossed by religious partisanship, and her adherence to the right wing of the Church inevitably made her lean to the Tories rather than to the Whigs. Nor could she fail to be influenced by the new spirit in the Tory party which her own accession had provoked. Her creed, her Stuart blood, and the flattering popularity she enjoyed among them, all drew her towards those who had ever been the great bulwark of her Church and family.

Her first Ministry, which she appointed in May 1702, reflected this frame of mind. Both parties were represented in it, but the Tories predominated. The Earl of Rochester, the queen's uncle and a high Tory, became Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; the Earl of Nottingham and Sir Charles Hedges, two other Tories, were made Secretaries of State; and the Marquis of Normanby, the Earl of Jersey, and Sir Edward Seymour, all of whom belonged to the same party, were also given offices. The only Whig of importance to be appointed was the Duke of Devonshire, who held the position of Lord Steward.

But the most important man in the Ministry was Sidney Godolphin, the Lord Treasurer, who had been at the Treasury almost continuously since the reign of Charles II. He was shrewd, cautious, tactful, diligent—an ideal civil servant; and in spite of the temptations of his position his integrity was never questioned. Burnet, in a striking tribute, wrote of him: "He was the man of the clearest head, the coolest temper, and the most uncorrupt of all the Ministers of State I have ever known." Politically, there was nothing in his opinions to prevent him from serving any government, and his caution, together with a certain timidity of disposition, had led him always to support the powers that be. Under James II. he had bowed in the house of Rimmon and posed as a Catholic; under William he

accepted the revolution and held office, but entered into secret communication with Saint Germain to secure himself in case of a counter-revolution. He had no binding allegiance to any one but himself, and was ready to serve any government which could satisfy this primary consideration. His pliancy was due partly to his character and to the political inconstancy which his generation had learnt amid so many revolutions and changes, but partly also to the fact that he believed, like the queen, in government on non-party lines. Such bias as he had was in favour of a moderate Toryism, but he belonged rather to the school of King William, and thought that service to the Crown ought to be above party.

Over the whole of the Ministry fell the shadow of Marlborough, the "Grand Vizier," whose influence was supreme with the queen. He was an old friend of Godolphin, whose son had married his daughter, and their political views were very similar. Marlborough was never a party man. His absorbing interest was the war, and, like William III., he was ready to welcome all to office who would support the struggle with France.

Robert Harley, the Speaker, formed the third member of the "triumvirate" who dominated English politics during most of Anne's reign. From the first he was deep in the councils of Marlborough and Godolphin, and his skill in piloting money Bills through the Commons proved invaluable to the Government. The ideas of the middle party found in him their most characteristic exponent. A Nonconformist by birth, a Whig in his early days, and a moderate by conviction, who could see "no difference between a mad Whig and a mad Tory," he had friends in every camp. Temperamentally he was cautious, balancing, and a believer in compromise. This led him sometimes to mere irresolution, while his "trimming" and his parade of secrecy earned for him the title of "trickster." But he had none the less a definite political theory of his own, and his great gift of parliamentary manipulation had enabled him to weld

the disjointed fragments of the two great parties into a third group supporting his own central position. Moreover, he was acceptable to the queen, whose political views he exactly expressed, and whose domestic virtues he mirrored in his own life.

The first Parliament of the reign, which met in October 1702, contained a Tory majority, and the House of Commons soon revealed its political complexion. In phraseology which was meant to be a reflection upon the dead king, it congratulated Anne that Marlborough had "signally retrieved the ancient honour and glory of the English nation" in the campaign of 1702; and in November it passed an Occasional Conformity Bill. The object of this was to prevent the practice which had grown up among Dissenters of taking the Sacrament according to the Church of England once only, to conform to the terms of the Corporation Act of 1661 and the Test Act of 1673, without doing which they could hold no public office, and then reverting to attendance at their own conventicles. To the high Anglican such a practice was a pollution of the Sacrament; whilst to Tories of a less exalted frame of mind the Bill commended itself because it would keep the Dissenters out of municipal corporations and so weaken the Whig interest in those bodies, which in many boroughs controlled the parliamentary elections. It provided that all office-holders who, after taking the Sacrament, relapsed and attended any conventicle or religious assembly other than an Anglican one, should forfeit their offices, pay heavy fines, and be incapable of holding any other employment until they could prove a year's conformity to the Church. In December 1702, and again in December 1703, this proposal was rejected by the solid phalanx of Whig bishops and peers with which William III. had packed the Upper House. In November 1704 the Tory hotheads not only revived the project but attempted to "tack" it on to a Land Tax Bill, and so force the Lords to accept it, or else to dislocate the supplies for the war by rejecting

the Budget. But they only damaged their cause by this factious behaviour at a time when the country was delirious with joy over the victory of Blenheim. The heads of the party all resisted the effort, and it was finally defeated in the House of Commons. The party, however, suffered for this "colossal error" * of its extremists in the election of 1705.

Dissensions in the Ministry, and the Supremacy of the Whigs

More serious trouble arose from the dissensions which soon broke out within the Ministry. The Tory right wing, led by Rochester and Nottingham, wished to establish a purely Tory Government, and to expel the Whigs even from the commissions of the peace and the lieutenancies of the counties; they desired England to act only as an auxiliary in the war on the Continent and to devote her main attention to the naval side of the struggle; and they were active supporters of the Occasional Conformity Bill. The "triumvirate," on the other hand, were anxious to retain the support of the Whigs; to carry on the policy of William III. in the Netherlands; and to avoid during the war the ill-feeling of party strife which the attack on occasional conformity was sure to generate. In November 1703 the Earl of Rochester relinquished his position as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and in May 1704, after a foolish attempt to force the queen to strike several leading Whigs off the Privy Council, Nottingham also resigned. Two other Tories, Lord Jersey and Sir Edward Seymour, were dismissed at the same time, and the Ministry was reconstructed from the middle party. Harley replaced Nottingham as Secretary of State, and he brought in with him as Secretary for War his brilliant young lieutenant, Henry St. John, who, though he had only entered Parliament in 1701, had already earned a reputation as a superb debater, and who, for the

* Feiling, *History of the Tory Party*, p. 377.

moment, regarded Harley as his Gamaliel. Extreme Toryism thus went into opposition, and for the next few years the Government was really a composite one based on the ideas of the party of which Harley was the leader.

Yet circumstances soon began to tilt the balance in favour of the Whigs, a movement for which the extreme Tories had largely themselves to blame. Their violence over the "tack" helped the Whigs to make large gains in the general election of April 1705, and encouraged the increase of the Whig element in the Ministry. In April 1705 the Duke of Newcastle, whose rent roll of £37,000 per annum would be invaluable to the Government, became Lord Privy Seal, and in October William Cowper, who was also a Whig, succeeded Sir Nathan Wright as Lord Keeper of the Great Seal—though the queen resisted this appointment for some time, and urged that the office should go rather to a "moderate Tory."

During the next two years Anne was in a difficult position, for although she was alienated by the folly of the Tories, she equally resented the pressure which sought to drive her over to the Whigs. In 1705 the Tories raised the question of the succession, which was above all things distasteful to her, and proposed that the Electress Sophia should be invited to live in England. The suggestion was a purely factious one: it was hoped to impale the Whigs on the fork of a dilemma, for if they supported the motion they would be discredited with the queen, while if they opposed they would earn the hostility of her successor. But the plot was skilfully parried by a Regency Act, which erected special machinery to come into operation on Anne's death, and which, as the event proved, did much in 1714 to secure the peaceful succession of the Hanoverian dynasty. The queen was hardly less annoyed by the cry of "the Church in danger" which the Tories began to raise in 1705, for as a loyal daughter of the Church she resented the implication that it was suffering under

her rule. The zealots of the party wrongfully attributed the decline in churchgoing, and the greater laxity in public and private morals which undoubtedly existed, to the favour shown to the Dissenters. The Toleration Act ; the failure to pass the Occasional Conformity Bill ; the broad tolerance of the latitudinarian bishops ; the educational activities of the Nonconformists, and the great influence which many of them had acquired as monied men since the revolution ; above all, the proposal to establish Presbyterianism in Scotland and to add a body of Scottish Presbyterians to Parliament, which bore fruit in the Act of Union, all seemed to them to prove that the old position of the Church was being undermined. But for the moment the cry was coldly received and had little effect.

In Parliament, meanwhile, the centre party, having broken with the extreme Tories, was ruling with the aid of the Whigs, for numerically it was the smallest of the three groups. Naturally, therefore, the Whigs began to press for some reward for their support, and they became steadily more insistent that their leaders should be admitted to high office. This led eventually to a disruption of the Ministry, for Marlborough and Godolphin, immersed in the work of winning and paying for the war, were ready to give the price demanded by the Whigs for their aid ; while Harley, true to his



SARAH JENNINGS, DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

(From the portrait by Kneller.)

central position, shrank from surrendering too far to any one party. The split widened rapidly after December 1706, when Marlborough and Godolphin, spurred on by a Whig threat to go into opposition, insisted that the extreme Whig, the Earl of Sunderland, should be made Secretary of State ; and other ministerial changes were made at the time in favour of the same party. From this period Harley began to work secretly for a new understanding with the Tories in order to tilt the balance straight again, and he found an eager sharer of his dissatisfaction in the queen. She strongly resented the way in which Sunderland, whose republican leanings she disliked, had been forced upon her. Sunderland was Marlborough's son-in-law, and the formidable duchess, who was a staunch Whig, stormed at the queen until her purpose was effected. Anne bent before this "tornado in petticoats," but she none the less cherished her resentment, and a coolness grew up between the two formerly inseparable friends. In 1707 the queen found a new confidante and companion in Abigail Hill, Mrs. Masham, one of the women of her bedchamber, whose equable temper and ingratiating conciliatory demeanour contrasted favourably with the stormy disposition of the great duchess. As Harley was a distant relative of the new favourite, he secured a secret access to the queen's ear, of which he made good use in the next few years.

Throughout the year 1707 the cleavage in the Ministry widened, and it was accelerated by a growing discontent with the war which Harley and his followers shared with the Tories. Complaints were raised against the perfidy of the Emperor, who was bleeding England white by large subsidies, and using the money for his own objects in Italy instead of throwing his full strength against France on the Rhine.* The Dutch were obviously ready to make a separate peace with France if their own interests in the Netherlands were secured, and much ill-will existed among them because of the English

* The Convention of Milan was especially attacked.

acquisition of Gibraltar, and of trading privileges in the Spanish West Indies granted by the Archduke Charles. The war in Spain was disliked as being both unsuccessful and an unwarrantable extension of the terms of the Grand Alliance; the strain of the conflict was beginning to be felt, especially by the Tory squires, who suffered from the high land tax; and the rejection of the peace feelers which Louis had thrown out after the battle of Ramillies in 1706 gave rise to the suspicion that the war was being prolonged in the interests of the Whigs and of Marlborough. The Tories always held that peace ought then to have been made, and St. John afterwards wrote: "It will not, because it cannot, be denied that all the ends of the Grand Alliance might have been obtained by a peace in 1706." *

By the end of 1707 an impossible situation had developed. Harley was still Secretary of State, but his subterranean intrigues with the Tories and with the queen, through Mrs. Masham, were known to Marlborough and Godolphin, and his anxiety for peace was clear. Alarmed by the growing opposition to the war among the Tories, Marlborough and Godolphin finally capitulated to the Whigs. In February 1708 Godolphin threatened to resign unless Harley was dismissed, and Marlborough supported him. Before such an ultimatum Anne was powerless, and Harley, realizing that it could not be resisted, promptly resigned, St. John retiring with him.

Thus the idea of moderate non-party government once more broke down. William III. had been driven, in spite of his predilections, to turn to the Whigs, and the process was now repeated. The new circumstances proved too strong for the old theory, and repetition drove home the fact that only by party government could the supremacy of Parliament, which the revolution had established, be enforced, and harmony preserved between the legislature and the executive. Despite their opposition to it, statesmen were driven to rule through

* Hassall, *Life of Bolingbroke*, p. 27.

party, and the events of the two reigns served to illustrate the impossibility of any other system, save under exceptional and transitory circumstances. They were, therefore, in this sense a peculiarly formative period in the growth of the modern Constitution, for with the exception of the early years of George III.'s reign, and of a few coalition governments formed in times of great national crisis, no effort has since been made in Great Britain to create an administration on non-party lines.

The events of 1708 seemed to strengthen the Whig supremacy. The attempted Jacobite invasion of Scotland in March, and its failure, raised their credit and enabled them to label the Tories as traitors. Even the queen announced her intention of relying for the future on those who had given such "repeated proofs" of their loyalty to the revolution and its principles; and in the general election in June-July the Whigs obtained a large majority. Yet their power began to crumble almost as soon as it was established. In November they forced Somers, as Lord President, and Wharton, as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, upon the queen, to whom both men were personally repugnant, by threats of attacking the administration of the Admiralty, over which Anne's husband presided. At that very moment Prince George was on his deathbed, and though in her sorrow the queen acquiesced in everything, she never forgot the outrage on her feelings. In November 1709 her bitterness was further increased by the insistence of the Whigs that the Earl of Orford (Russell) must be made First Lord of the Admiralty. Once more she surrendered to the importunities of Marlborough, Godolphin, and their new allies, but she hated them for it, and Harley's agent, Mrs. Masham, was always at her side to fan the flames.

The queen's dislike was not the only thing the Ministry had to combat, for the war was rapidly becoming unpopular. The drain of men and money seemed interminable, and the results insignificant. In 1709, after six campaigns, the allies only held a strip

of Catalonia in Spain; Malplaquet, in September 1709, resembled a defeat rather than a victory, and peace seemed to be as far off as ever; for although Louis XIV. had just offered to surrender all the Spanish dominions, negotiations had broken down over the additional terms which the allies demanded. Marlborough's request in the autumn of 1709 to be made Captain-General for life, which was probably prompted only by his desire to make his position independent of political transformations, added to the impression that Ministers were using the war for their own ends the fear that the great soldier might aim at being a second Cromwell. The Government was discredited with the sovereign and with the people, but its death-blow came not from Anne, nor from Harley who was busy making his peace with the Tories, but from the hands of an unknown Anglican priest.

Chapter VI

THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE, 1709-14

The Sacheverell Incident, and the Fall of the Whig Ministry

ON November 5, 1709, Henry Sacheverell, the rector of St. Saviour, Southwark, preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London in St. Paul's Cathedral. He belonged to the right wing of the Church, which, after the accession of Anne, had revived the pre-revolution doctrines of non-resistance, indefeasible right, and of a uniformity unspotted by any toleration for the Dissenters ; and in his sermon on "the perils from false brethren " he enlarged upon these themes with considerable vehemence. He attacked the whole principle upon which the revolution was based by asserting the sinfulness of resistance to a divinely ordained Government, he condemned the tolerance of Nonconformity, and roundly asserted that the Church was in grave danger from false brethren, foremost among whom, as he hinted with scarcely veiled references, were the latitudinarian bishops and time-serving statesmen like the Lord Treasurer, Godolphin.

The sermon, which was printed and had a wide circulation, was soon brought to the notice of the House of Commons, and it was decided to impeach the preacher of it. This impolitic step was largely due to the personal pique of Godolphin, but the Whigs were also anxious to reaffirm the principles of the revolution by a solemn condemnation of the High Church doctrines. Sacheverell was therefore accused before the Lords of main-

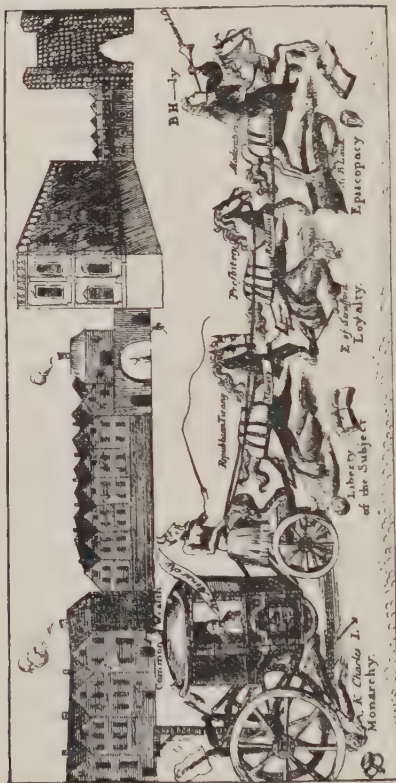
taining that the means by which the revolution had been secured were "odious and unjustifiable"; that the Toleration Act was "unreasonable," and that those who supported it were traitors to the Church; and that the Church was in danger under the queen's Government.

The details of the trial, which began on February 27, 1710, and its result, were unimportant compared with the outburst of popular feeling which it evoked. Sacheverell became a national hero, and a rallying point for those who opposed the Government. All the long pent up bitterness of the clergy during the years of adversity which had followed the revolution now burst forth in defence of this loyal son of the Church who was suffering "persecution" because he had dared to maintain her traditional doctrines, and every village pulpit resounded with the enormities of those who assailed her champion.

Other gusts of opposition swelled the cyclone which the Ministry had aroused. Even Tories who were lukewarm in their churchmanship saw an opportunity of making political capital out of the trial; while the populace, weary of the pressgang, dear food, and high taxation, enraged by the large influx of foreigners from the war areas, and by the relief accorded to them, and bewildered by the invectives of the clergy, gave vent to their feelings by destroying dissenting chapels, or by kissing Sacheverell's hand and doffing their caps whenever he passed. The trial ended on 23rd March with a sentence which was a virtual acquittal. Sacheverell's sermon was to be publicly burnt in front of the Royal Exchange, and he was suspended from preaching for three years. A resolution to render him incapable of preferment during this period was lost, and he obtained a living in Shropshire, to which he journeyed through pealing bells, bonfires, banquets, and popular gatherings in his honour.

The episode completed the discredit into which the Whig Ministry had fallen. The doubtful victory of Malplaquet and the refusal of Louis's peace offers in 1709, the open hostility of the queen, and the rapproche-

ment which Harley was slowly making with the Tories, had all undermined the position of the Whigs, and the Sacheverell trial fired the charge. But circumstances



A HIGH CHURCH CARICATURE ON THE SACHEVERELL PROSECUTION, 1710.

made it a charge not for one big explosion which should completely wreck the Ministry, but for several minor detonations spread throughout the year 1710. Harley had to lead the queen to the exercise of her prerogative of dismissal step by step, and he himself, since he still hoped to retain the support of the moderate Whigs for his middle policy, aimed rather at reconstructing the Ministry than at its complete destruction. He had to walk warily, for if the Whigs were pressed too vehemently they might resign in a body;

and that would not only have flung him from his political *via media* into the arms of the Tories, but would also have lost the indispensable services of Marlborough, have alarmed the allies of England, and have robbed any new Government of the financial support which

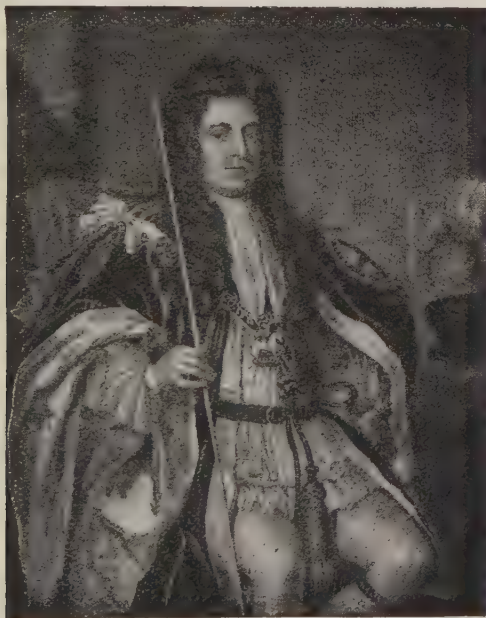
could only be given by the Whig financiers and merchants of London. It was, therefore, Harley's policy to replace the more objectionable members of the Government by his own supporters piecemeal, thus preserving an outward appearance of continuity, and at the same time paving the way for the restoration of the non-party Ministry which the queen and he desired.

The first sign of the coming change was the appointment of Lord Rivers, a malcontent Whig who had become a follower of Harley, to be Constable of the Tower in January 1710. Still more ominously, Anne now quarrelled openly with the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough. In January she ordered the duke to give Mrs. Masham's brother, Colonel Hill, a regiment. He replied by demanding the dismissal of the favourite or of himself, only to find to his indignation that the majority of the Whigs in the Ministry would not support his ultimatum. Eventually the queen withdrew her request and he dropped his demand; but Anne was deeply incensed against her old friend. In April she had a last stormy interview with his wife. Ever since 1707 the two women had quarrelled over the influence of Mrs. Masham and over the Whig proclivities of the duchess; and for three years the queen had meekly submitted to a torrent of screaming invective. On one occasion the duchess's voice could be heard storming in the next room, and in the midst of the procession of thanksgiving for the victory of Oudenarde an altercation which broke out ended in the queen being roundly told "to hold her tongue." At length, in 1710, Anne asserted herself and refused to be hectored or brow-beaten any longer, and the duchess withdrew from court, though she was not compelled to resign all her offices until January 1711.

In April 1710, without warning Godolphin, Anne suddenly dismissed Lord Kent, the Lord Chamberlain, and gave the appointment to the Duke of Shrewsbury. Shrewsbury was one of those Whigs who had signed the invitation to William in 1688, and during William's

reign he had been both Secretary of State and Lord Chamberlain. Like most of the other statesmen of the day he had intrigued with the Jacobites, but his morbidly sensitive disposition made his treachery a misery to him, and when Sir John Fenwick accused him of having been in communication with Saint Germain, although the king expressed his disbelief, the duke, tortured as much by his master's magnanimity as by the knowledge that the charge was true, insisted on resigning his office, and eventually retired to the Continent. Early in 1706 he returned to England, but for some time took no part in politics. Then Harley approached him in 1708, and by 1710 he had won over the vacillating, gloomy, but secretly ambitious nobleman to his own belief that only "men of moderation should be employed" in the Government. His appointment in April 1710 was, therefore, a considerable step in the establishment of Harley's supremacy. Godolphin remonstrated vigorously with the queen over her act, but he did not resign, partly because he was by no means clear as to Shrewsbury's real intentions, and partly because he was anxious to avoid a dissolution of Parliament at a moment when the Ministry was so unpopular. The following month Marlborough was obliged to give Colonel Hill command of two regiments; and on 13th June Sunderland, the Secretary of State, was dismissed from his office and replaced by Lord Dartmouth, another nominee of Harley. On 7th August the final blow was struck, and Godolphin himself was removed from office. These changes were all due to the influence of Harley, and his manipulation of the wires behind the scenes was facilitated by the fissures which existed in the Ministry. Some of the Whigs, like Somers, Orford, Newcastle, and Wharton, were ready to acquiesce in the removal of Sunderland, whose republican views went too far for them, or of Godolphin, whose record was tainted with Toryism, so long as they got some coveted ribbon or bribe, or retained a lucrative position. Others, like the Dukes of Argyle and Somerset, were alienated from the

old gang of the "Junto," and were playing for the formation of a new moderate Ministry under their own auspices. By skilful use of all this self-interest and faction Harley found it easy to wreck Godolphin's Government.



SYDNEY, FIRST EARL OF GODOLPHIN.
(From an engraving after the portrait by Kneller.)

The Ascendancy of Harley

The construction of a new Ministry proved more difficult. Harley became Chancellor of the Exchequer and virtually Prime Minister, and spent August and September in negotiating with the Whigs for their support of the new non-party Government which he hoped

to establish. But the Whigs would give no definite promises of support, and they strenuously resisted a dissolution, knowing that it would result in a Tory landslide, while Harley's Tory supporters became restless at this bargaining with their opponents; and opinion in the country swung steadily in favour of an election. Fearing to fall between two stools, Harley dissolved Parliament on 21st September, and the election resulted in the return of a big Tory majority. It meant the end of his hopes of any real accommodation with the Whigs, and before the year was out nearly all the Whig Ministers resigned; but for the moment the new Government remained a coalition, though with a definitely Tory preponderance. Newcastle, the Privy Seal, and Walpole, Treasurer of the Navy, who were both Whigs, retained their offices until the following year. Rochester became Lord President of the Council, and Dartmouth and St. John Secretaries of State. The queen refused to admit Nottingham because of the support he had given to the project of bringing over the Electress Sophia to live in England in 1705. Marlborough was persuaded to continue in office because the Ministry dare not part with him until the war was over, because the allies had all joined in begging him not to resign, and because he himself was naturally anxious to finish the work of the Grand Alliance and secure the full fruits of his victories.

For some months it looked as though Harley's power would be short lived, for the right wing of the Tories soon voiced its discontent at his compromising tactics, and clamoured for a policy of "thorough." These malcontents, about one hundred and fifty in number, drew together in the October Club* at the close of 1710, and demanded the impeachment of Godolphin, a clean sweep of all Whigs still in office, an inquiry into the financial administration of the late Ministry, and the enforcement of a purely Tory programme. They failed to pass a new Place Bill or to repeal the Act of 1708

* So called from the October ale drunk at its meetings.

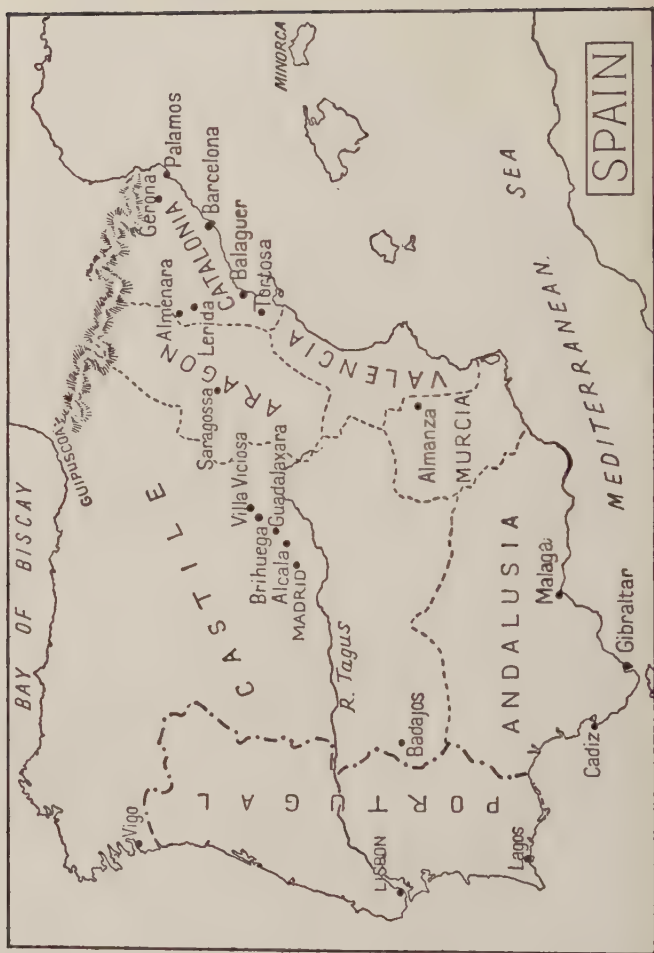
which had naturalized immigrant foreign Protestants, but they were able to carry a statute imposing a property qualification upon all members of Parliament.* Its aim was to re-establish the landed interest, whose former influence, so the Tories complained, had been undermined by the new monied trading classes. The idea found an ardent supporter in the new Secretary of State, St. John, who was a believer in the political and social predominance of "the gentlemen of England." He still spoke of "the broad and generous principle" of government which Harley professed, but he was a more definite Tory than his old master and desired more drastic action; and it was ominous for their future harmony that the Tory squires of the October Club began to look to him, rather than to Harley, as their leader.

It seemed as though Harley's influence was waning; but in March 1711 it was suddenly restored and augmented by an attempt on his life. The Marquis de Guiscard, a secret agent of the British Government, had been discovered to be betraying state secrets to the French Ministers, and was being examined before the Privy Council on 8th March when he suddenly stabbed Harley with a penknife. The wound was not dangerous, but it won for the injured statesman immense popularity as one whose life had been endangered for his country, and his enforced absence from Parliament for a month released a whole mass of subterranean faction, and showed the necessity for his moderating influence. On 23rd May he was created Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and on the 30th he became Lord High Treasurer. For the moment his triumph was complete, and he was able to give his undivided attention to the problem of peace.

The Peace Negotiations and the Peace Conference at Utrecht

Before Harley accepted office in 1710 it had been his avowed intention to make "an honourable and safe

* £600 per annum for county members, and £300 per annum for borough members.



peace," and the victory of the Tories in the election of that year showed that the country endorsed his pacific policy. Events abroad only served to strengthen this inclination for peace. Negotiations with France at Gertruydenberg in the spring had been broken off in July because the allies once more insisted that Louis should employ French troops to assist in driving Philip from Spain ; and the campaign which followed brought a decision no nearer. In the Netherlands Marlborough took Douai (June), Bethune (August), St. Venant (September), and Aire (November), thus mastering the whole line of the Lys, but Villars managed to save Arras from his grasp. In Spain the year proved disastrous to the allied cause. Throughout 1709 a virtual stalemate had existed in the Peninsula, but in the autumn, after Malplaquet, the French troops were withdrawn. Consequently, in 1710, Starhemberg was able to take the offensive from Catalonia, and after defeating Philip and the Spanish at Almenara (July) and Saragossa (August), he marched on Madrid, which was occupied, and the Archduke Charles made his state entry on 21st September. But the inhabitants showed their sympathy with the French prince by remaining indoors, and it was even said that the invaders had to hire a few boys to shout for Charles so that he might not lack acclamation. The army was master of nothing but the ground it stood upon, and was unable to secure adequate supplies because of the hostility of the Spanish ; and when Philip was reinforced by a French army under Vendôme, the allies had to evacuate the capital. They retired in two columns, Starhemberg leading the van and General Stanhope the rearguard. On 8th December Stanhope was surrounded and forced to surrender at Brihuega, and although Starhemberg came up two days later and fought an indecisive battle with Vendôme at Villa Viciosa, which both sides claimed as a victory, he had to continue his withdrawal to the coast.

It was obvious that Spain could never be won for the Archduke. It was equally clear that the alliance was

strained to breaking point, and that there was little harmony between the Emperor's designs in Italy, the Dutch pursuit of supremacy in the Netherlands, and the legitimate interests of England. Nor was there any prospect of arranging a peace to which all the allies would voluntarily agree, for the Emperor refused to relinquish a yard of the whole Spanish heritage. Yet he had already secured large gains in Italy, the Dutch had been guaranteed a long line of barrier fortresses by the Barrier Treaty with the English in 1709, and both powers had consistently taken English subsidies and failed in return to provide their proper contingents of men ; whereas England, who had acted as paymaster to the alliance for nine years, had as yet derived no profit from the war.

Under such circumstances the Government was undoubtedly justified in insisting that the struggle must be brought to a close ; and the death of the Emperor Joseph I. in April 1711 added another cogent reason in favour of peace, for the Archduke Charles succeeded his brother as Emperor, so that to fight on in order to win Spain for him would revive the Empire of Charles V., and endanger the balance of power as much as the retention of the Spanish throne by Philip. But if the end in view was unimpeachable, it is unfortunately necessary to add that the steps taken to achieve it form " one of the most shameful pages in English history." * Although the Grand Alliance bound its members not to negotiate any separate peace, secret advances were made to France as early as December 1710 through the Abbé Gaultier, a connection of Lord Jersey and an agent of the French Minister, Torcy. Delighted at the prospect of dividing the alliance, Louis XIV. accepted the proffered negotiations, and by April 1711 formal proposals were outlined. In July Matthew Prior was sent over to Paris, and after further discussions he returned to London in August with the two French envoys Gaultier and Mesnager, who, on 29th September, signed

* Lecky, *History of England*, Vol. I., p. 131.

the agreed preliminaries of peace on behalf of Louis XIV. By them France agreed to recognize the queen's title and the Protestant succession, to dismantle Dunkirk, to cede Gibraltar, Minorca, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay Territory to Great Britain, to consent to a commercial treaty, and to acquiesce in the transfer of the "Asiento," or right to supply the Spanish Indies with slaves, from French to British merchants. Other clauses stipulated for an adequate barrier in the Netherlands for the Dutch, just satisfaction for the Emperor for the loss of Spain, which it was agreed to leave in Philip's hands, and guarantees that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united. Only these latter terms were revealed to the allies; those which concerned England were still kept secret. The Dutch and the Emperor both protested strenuously, but neither of them could continue the war without English aid, and they were obliged to consent to participate in the peace congress which it was proposed to assemble at Utrecht.

The campaign of 1711 had made little difference to the position of the combatants. The Archduke Charles left Spain to succeed his brother as Emperor, and the English troops in Portugal and in Catalonia were withdrawn to Gibraltar and Minorca, so that the war practically closed in the Peninsula, and the French were left in undisputed possession. In the Netherlands the campaign was delayed by heavy rains, but in August Marlborough broke through Villars's "*ne plus ultra*" lines at Arleux, and in twenty days took the fortress of Bouchain.

Throughout the year he had been coldly treated by the new Government. Harley tried to keep on good terms with one whose services were so valuable, but St. John and the more pronounced Tories were determined to diminish the influence of the duke, whom they disliked both as a renegade and as a too powerful subject. He was fiercely attacked by Tory pamphleteers, his demands for reinforcements and supplies were questioned, or denied, and he was told nothing of the

inner policy of the Government. In June he had been deprived of several thousand British troops, who were sent under Major-General Hill on an expedition to take Quebec, in pursuance of that maritime and colonial policy which the Tories had consistently preached. The illustration was, however, an unfortunate one, for owing to bad weather and a shortage of supplies the expedition returned in October without having even disembarked on Canadian soil. Nor was Marlborough given any information about the secret terms which had been arranged with France, though hitherto he had been the diplomatic as well as the military brain of the alliance. Such treatment naturally aroused his resentment, and on his return to England in November he finally broke with the Ministry and joined the Whigs.

In the closing weeks of the year the political situation at home reached a crisis. Protests against the peace poured in from the Emperor and from Holland, and still more significantly from Hanover ; while in Parliament the Whigs came to an agreement with the section of the Tory party led by Nottingham, who had both personal and public grounds for opposing the Government, for he was disappointed at his exclusion from office, and he had been one of the original supporters of the project of securing the whole of the Spanish dominions for the Hapsburgs. In December the Whigs helped him to carry the Occasional Conformity Act, which disabled all officials who attended a conventicle from holding their appointments, and in return for the surrender of their principles they secured his opposition to the peace terms. On 7th December this strange coalition was able to carry an amendment to the Address in the House of Lords that " no peace could be safe or honourable to Great Britain or Europe if Spain and the West Indies were allotted to any branch of the House of Bourbon." A similar motion was at the same time lost in the Commons.

A conflict between the two Houses, and the ruin of the Ministry's scheme seemed probable, but Oxford,

galvanized into activity by the fiery St. John and by his own critical position, struck two resounding and decisive blows. Marlborough was accused in the House of Commons of illegally appropriating £63,319 derived from commissions paid to him by the contractor of bread for the army, and £382,366, representing $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the pay of hired allied troops; and although he was able to prove that such perquisites were customary and that the money had been spent on secret service, he was dismissed from all his offices on 31st December. Simultaneously (December 28-January 1, 1711-12) twelve new peers were created to swamp the adverse majority in the Lords. St. John, the main author of this audacious coup, confessed in later years that it was "an unprecedented invidious measure, to be excused by nothing but the necessity, and hardly by that"; but it was successful, and the Ministry was henceforth unimpeded in its pursuit of peace.

Yet this temporary security was dearly purchased. Marlborough's fall produced a strong revulsion of popular feeling in favour of one who had raised his country to such heights of glory; and the triumph in Parliament was only secured at the cost of an irrevocable breach with the Whigs and with the court of Hanover. Oxford was once more driven from his *via media* into the ranks of the Tories, and there he soon found himself only second in command, for the true Tory now looked upon his old lieutenant, St. John, as his real leader. For some time this split had been widening between the cautious, balancing Oxford, who never completely purged himself of his Nonconformist and Whig descent, and the brilliant, impetuous St. John, who wished to strengthen the Church and the landed gentry by the destruction of the dissenting influence, of "Dutch finance," and of all the other new-fangled developments which the revolution had imposed upon the country. But the cracks were decently papered over until peace was signed.

The conference opened at Utrecht on January 29,

1712, England being represented by the Bishop of Bristol, the Lord Privy Seal, and the Earl of Strafford. The Imperialists and the Dutch appeared reluctantly, while the French, secure in their secret agreement with England and in the obvious disunion of the alliance, put forward propositions which treated the retention of Spain and the Indies by Philip as a foregone conclusion—behaviour which aroused as much indignation in England as abroad, for the secret preliminaries which had been signed with France were not known to the public. A new difficulty arose in March, when the deaths of the Duke of Burgundy and his eldest son left only the future Louis XV., then a child of two, between Philip and the French throne, and created alarm lest the two countries might be united in the future by the death of the infant who alone stood before Philip. Philip was offered the choice of abdicating the throne of Spain in favour of the Duke of Savoy, or of retaining it and renouncing for himself and his heirs the French crown; and the conference was practically suspended until he accepted the latter alternative in June.

Meanwhile the campaigning season had opened, and the English forces, now commanded by the Duke of Ormond, joined the allies under Prince Eugene in the Netherlands. The latter, anxious to secure some success which might influence the peace negotiations, suggested to Ormond that they should co-operate in the siege of Le Quesnoy. But it was impossible for the British to take the offensive, bound as they were by the secret understanding with France, and Ormond had already been ordered by St. John not to engage in any siege or battle. He had, therefore, to equivocate before Eugene's request, and sent secret information to the French commander, Marshal Villars, that he need not fear an assault. The following month he signed an armistice for two months with Villars in return for the immediate surrender of Dunkirk, and on 16th July, amid the unconcealed disgust of the army, he withdrew from the allied camp and marched to occupy Dunkirk.

It was a shameful desertion, which even the selfishness of the allies in the past could not condone, and it finally broke up the Grand Alliance. Eugene was able to take Le Quesnoy in July, but he was defeated by Villars at Denain shortly afterwards, and before the end of the year the French had recaptured Le Quesnoy, Douai, and Bouchain.

These successes encouraged the French to protract the negotiations at Utrecht, and they raised interminable delays over the Dutch barrier and other points. In August, St. John—who had been made Viscount Bolingbroke on 4th July, to his intense chagrin, for he had expected an earldom—went over to Paris, renewed the armistice for four months, and straightened out numerous difficulties. Yet the end of the year still saw the conference sitting, and the new British Ambassador in Paris, the Duke of Shrewsbury, had once more to prolong the armistice. At length the patience of the Government was exhausted, and in January 1713 Shrewsbury was ordered to present what was almost an ultimatum on the points still at issue, coupled with a threat to renew the war in the spring. This firmness had an immediate effect. The French dropped their dilatory tactics, and on 11th April the Peace of Utrecht was finally signed by all the combatants except the Emperor, who refused to accept the proffered terms and continued the struggle single-handed. In 1713 Villars overran Alsace and crossed the Rhine, and Charles had finally to make peace at Rastadt on March 6, 1714.

Briefly, the treaty ceded to Great Britain, Gibraltar, Minorca, Hudson Bay, Acadia, Newfoundland (except for the French fishing rights, which were reserved), and the Asiento, or monopoly of the slave trade to the Spanish colonies. France recognized the Hanoverian succession, promised to expel the Pretender from French soil, and agreed to demolish the fortifications and harbour of Dunkirk. Provision was made for a commercial treaty between the two countries on the basis

of the tariff of 1664, and of the most favoured nation treatment in each other's customs ; but this forerunner of Pitt's treaty of 1786 and of Cobden's in 1860 was eventually rejected by the House of Commons. It was argued that the change would mean an adverse balance of trade of a million pounds per annum with France ; that the English silk, linen, and paper trades would be ruined ; that it was a breach of the Methuen treaty of 1703 with Portugal by which Portuguese wines were to be admitted to England at one-third the duty paid by French wines, and that consequently the trade in woollen goods to Portugal would be lost. Other clauses of the peace recognized Philip as King of Spain and of the Indies, on condition that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united ; and the Emperor received Naples, the Milanese, Sardinia, and the Netherlands, subject to the right of the Dutch to garrison certain barrier fortresses in the last-mentioned territory. France retained Alsace with Strassburg, but restored Brisach, Fribourg, and Kehl to the Empire. Sicily was given to the Duke of Savoy, who had some family claims upon the Spanish heritage.

The terms of the treaty were far more commendable than the means by which they had been obtained. After eleven years of war they represented very closely the settlement which had been outlined in 1701 by the Grand Alliance. Philip retained Spain, but the Spanish Empire was partitioned, and the Emperor got compensation for his claims in Italy, while the Dutch secured an adequate barrier in the Low Countries. More onerous terms might have been imposed on France in 1706 and in 1709 and 1710, but such a drastic settlement could only have been a temporary one, and would inevitably have left a sense of tension behind it. By frankly accepting the fact that France was and must remain a great power, and by refraining from extensive annexations in her north-eastern or eastern frontiers, the peace established a permanent settlement, which left no abiding sense of friction behind it like the Treaty of

Frankfort in 1871. France emerged from the struggle weakened, and without the European hegemony at which Louis XIV. had aimed, but her territory remained almost intact, and she retained a definite ascendancy on the Continent until it was undermined by her own internal weakness.

For Great Britain the peace was more momentous. It set the seal of permanency upon the revolution, and forced upon Europe the recognition of the right of the islanders to choose or to change their own sovereign. In a still wider sense it stands out as the first international revelation of a change which had been taking place in England for two centuries. Beneath the religious struggles of the sixteenth century and the constitutional problems of the seventeenth century, a steady tendency had been at work changing the old agricultural economy of England into a commercial one, and the great transformation which appeared to coincide with the revolution of 1688 was only the flowering of two hundred years of slow accumulation of wealth, of persistent expansion of trade, and of colonization. In the Peace of Utrecht this change is clearly mirrored. Its terms show that Britain was then—and recognized herself to be—a maritime, commercial, and colonial power, and it stands at the head of that series of great treaties by which the Empire and trade of Britain have been established. Newfoundland, Acadia, and Hudson Bay formed the germ from which the Dominion of Canada has sprung; Gibraltar and Minorca pointed the way to that steady penetration of the Mediterranean which the expansion of Empire has imposed; while, if the moralist of to-day must deplore the *Asiento*, it did at least, from a purely economic point of view, become the foundation of a thriving traffic to the West Indies and South America. As a sea power the war left Britain without a peer. The French fleet was powerless before her, and her old rivals, the Dutch, never recovered from the strain of the long conflict. Since 1707 they had been unable to

provide more than a third of their quota of ships to the alliance, and their decline both as a naval and as a trading people became clearly visible after Utrecht.

One blot marred the rich trophies which Britain had won, and that was the desertion of the Catalans who had fought valiantly for the Archduke Charles. Many times since 1705 they had been assured of British protection, but in his haste for peace Bolingbroke—though he pleaded their cause ardently—was finally satisfied with a vague promise from Philip that they should not suffer. It could and should have been made one of the conditions of the peace. As it was, the Catalans continued to fight, Philip renounced his promise, and after a year's siege Barcelona was taken, its defenders were ruthlessly massacred, and all the old privileges of Catalonia were abolished.

*The Succession Question, and the Breach between
Oxford and Bolingbroke. Death of Anne*

One of the chief motives which had prompted the Ministry to hasten the peace was the question of the succession, and the desire to consolidate their position before the queen died. The succession was vested by the Act of Settlement in the Electress Sophia and her heirs, but the existence of the Pretender made it doubtful if the Hanoverians would be able to secure the heritage. A small section of the Tory party was still Jacobite, and the fact that Sophia's son, the Elector George, favoured the Whigs, naturally alienated many moderate Tories and made them anxious for the future. The Whigs had always been the most consistent supporters of the Hanoverian succession; William III., as a reward for his help against France, had won for George the coveted title of Elector; the Barrier Treaty of 1709, by which the Dutch were made to guarantee the Hanoverian succession and if necessary to fight for it, was the work of the Whigs; Marlborough had flattered the Elector and obtained for him the command on the

Rhine in 1707; and apart from all these debts to the party George was naturally repelled from the Tories by the suspicion of their Jacobitism. He had protested against the change of Ministry in 1710 and against the peace terms in 1712, and the knowledge of his hostility inevitably drove the Tories to regard the Pretender more leniently.

The Whigs did not fail to make party capital out of the coolness displayed by their opponents towards the Hanoverian succession, and after peace was signed they raised the cry of "the succession in danger." This question filled the closing months of Anne's life, and through the maze of intrigue which it evoked it is difficult to steer a lucid course. One thing does, however, stand out clearly, and that is, that the future lay largely in the hands of Oxford or Bolingbroke.

The "or" is significant. A few years earlier they would have co-operated, but their relations, which had been strained before and during the peace negotiations, were completely snapped over this new problem. Both of them in 1713-14 were intriguing with the Pretender, but then so also were many of the Whigs, simply as a measure of insurance in case the unexpected occurred. All the evidence points to the fact that Oxford never intended to restore the old line, but that he remained loyal to the Act of Settlement, which had been peculiarly his own work. His position was, however, a difficult one, for the Elector distrusted him, and Anne's own attitude was a baffling one. It is highly improbable that she ever gave her half-brother any encouragement or contemplated his succession; but, on the other hand, she was barely civil to the Hanoverian family, and would not hear of any member of it coming to reside in England. Like Elizabeth, she disliked to reflect upon her death, and did not want a constant reminder of that anxiously-awaited event before her eyes in the person of the Elector's son.

With his usual opportunism, Oxford strove to master these complicated circumstances, and to ensure his

position for the future by a good understanding with all parties. He corresponded with Saint Germain and with Hanover; he made new approaches to the Whigs, but refrained from declaring openly for Hanover for fear of driving over the Tory right wing into opposition or conspiracy; he tried to humour the queen's feelings, and to moderate the intemperate zeal of his own followers, who wished to strengthen the power of the party while the opportunity offered.

For to Bolingbroke and those who followed him Oxford's apparent timidity and vacillation were anathema. While the sands of Anne's life ran rapidly out, and the shadow of an alien king, sold to the Whigs, drew steadily nearer, the Treasurer, immersed in his labyrinth of intrigue, seemed only to fritter away the golden moments which might have been utilized to consolidate the position of the Tory party. It was widely believed that Bolingbroke was aiming at a Jacobite restoration; but he always denied it in later years, and there is no conclusive evidence that he had ever definitely resolved to procure the succession of the Pretender. He recognized clearly that James Edward would never win his father's throne unless he repudiated or dissembled his Catholicism; and to his eternal credit the Pretender refused to do either. Bolingbroke's great object was to build up a strong, united Tory party, and to fill every office with its adherents so that when the nation declared its answer to the succession riddle the party would be able to hold its ground, and to make terms either with James Edward or George of Hanover. But such a course was impossible so long as Oxford remained at the head of the Ministry, and it thus became necessary to secure his removal if the Tories were to win the race against Anne's ebbing life.

The general election of August-September 1713 left the Tories with a majority in Parliament; but the party was rapidly splitting up. The serious illness of the queen in December, which revealed the urgency of the problem, the unbending Catholicism of the

Pretender, and the stigma of Jacobitism which was popularly attached to the extreme Tories, drove that section which favoured the Hanoverian succession towards the Whigs; while, as the time grew short, Bolingbroke became more insistent upon a purely Tory policy.

Once more, therefore, the ground cracked under Oxford's feet, and his *via media* was doomed. Feeling ran high on both sides. The Whigs showed an indecent eagerness for Anne's death during her illness, and on April 3, 1714, a vote that the Protestant succession was not in danger was only carried against them and the Hanoverian Tories in the House of Lords by a majority of twelve. On 12th April a demand was made for a writ summoning the Elector's son, who had been made Duke of Cambridge, to sit in the Upper House, so that the Hanoverian party might have a leader present when the queen died. On the other hand, there were numerous signs of Jacobite activity. England was flooded with Jacobite pamphlets; in Ireland the Chancellor, Sir Constantine Phipps, who had governed the island for two years, was generally considered to be a Jacobite; and in Edinburgh the Pretender's birthday was celebrated with bonfires and fireworks.

Bolingbroke urged Oxford to separate "the chaff from the wheat" by purging the Ministry so as to enable the Tories to meet the crisis when it came; but the Treasurer, whose natural vacillation was increased by domestic sorrow and ill-health, still hung undecided between the two camps which were forming, until his relations with Bolingbroke were strained to breaking-point. Party policy and pride all helped to sunder them. Bolingbroke chafed at the hesitations of his rival in face of a situation which called urgently for decisive action; he never forgave Oxford's lukewarm attitude towards the commercial clauses of the Treaty of Utrecht; and he resented the contrast between his own viscounty and the earldom and Garter of the Treasurer. He was resolved to seize the reins of govern-



THE POLLING BOOTH: VOTERS TAKING THE OATH.
(From an engraving after the painting by Hogarth.)

ment himself ; and the first half of 1714 was filled by the contest between the two men.

In May the Schism Act, which was inspired by Bolingbroke, and which forbade any person to keep a school unless he was a member of the Established Church and had secured a licence from a bishop, rallied the Tory party and placed Oxford in a difficult position. To resist would alienate the Tories ; to support would cost him the allegiance of the Dissenters against whom the Act was aimed. He solved the dilemma by hardly opening his mouth about the Bill in Parliament ; but its successful passage through both Houses strengthened his rival. In June he retaliated by the issue of a proclamation offering a reward for the arrest of the Pretender, in the hope that Bolingbroke would protest and so strengthen the suspicion of his Jacobitism. Bolingbroke countered this by his ready acquiescence, but early in July his position was seriously imperilled when Oxford supported a proposed inquiry into certain explanatory articles added to the treaty of commerce with Spain, largely through the agency of Bolingbroke and his agents, which not only concealed certain dubious financial transactions, but also, it was alleged, were harmful to British trade. Oxford still controlled a majority in the Cabinet and in the Commons, and to save himself Bolingbroke had to fall back upon his influence with the queen.

At court he had supplanted Oxford in Anne's favour. Whig rejoicing at her illness naturally turned her sympathies towards the Tories, and Oxford's equivocating behaviour over the Whig demand for a writ for the electoral prince, which prompted the infuriated queen to write to the Electress Sophia in such strains that it hastened that venerable lady's death,* undermined his influence in the palace. More personal causes contributed to his disgrace. Mrs. Masham had been won over by Bolingbroke with the promise of a share in the profits of the Asiento ; and Oxford had offended Anne

* She died in June 1714.

by his habitual lack of respect for her rank and sex. He was unpunctual, unvarnished in speech, and sometimes fuddled when he entered the royal presence. It was this loss of his influence with the queen which now ruined him. To save Bolingbroke Parliament was prorogued on 9th July, and Oxford was at length dismissed by Anne on 27th July.

His fall brought to a close a career singularly complex, but of rare political interest. Superficially Harley's course had wandered in apparently meaningless meanderings over the whole field which lay between the extremes of Whig and Tory, but there was an essential unity of purpose behind all his trimming. For he was striving all his life to preserve a balance between the Crown and Parliament, between the two parties, and between the constitutional ideas of the pre- and post-revolution periods. He cherished the old ideal of the monarchy as an active force in the Constitution, and of a service to it which might transcend party bonds. To this extent he stood for the past. But he accepted also the principles of the revolution, with all their emphasis on the authority of Parliament; and he tried to fuse them with the older conceptions of government into one harmonious system. He failed because he never realized that after the revolution Parliament was too strong to permit the Crown anything but the form of power, and that, for good or for evil, this sovereign body was destined to be controlled by party principles. His repudiation of the party system in the formation of his Ministries repeatedly broke down before the increasing grip which that system was securing upon Parliament; and it is this which makes his career so instructive. It reveals the insistent way in which party forced its way into political life in spite of the opposition of the best opinion of the period. William III., Godolphin, Marlborough, Harley, and all who strove to walk the *via media* of non-party government, failed to achieve their aim. It was the pursuit of an impossible ideal, but it had noble elements in it, and

none but the most bigoted partisan will deny that the system which Harley championed contained some principles for the loss of which political life is the poorer.

Oxford's fall removed the great obstacle from Bolingbroke's path, but it came too late. The Ministry still contained a majority of Oxford's supporters, and before Bolingbroke could do anything to strengthen his position the succession crisis was upon him. On 28th and 29th July—barely twenty-four hours after the Treasurer's fall—the queen, who had been much distressed by the scene in the Council when she dismissed her old servant, was stricken with repeated seizures and was obviously dying. Even the waverers now hastened to take their sides, and Bolingbroke, caught unawares by the sudden development of the crisis, was hurried helplessly along by events. Those who favoured Hanover closed up their ranks, while the Tory party split between those who stood firmly by the Act of Settlement, and those, like Bolingbroke, who had no definite plan for the future except to strengthen the position of the party—a policy for which time was now lacking. On 30th July the Dukes of Argyle and Somerset, moderate Whigs who had once been supporters of Oxford but had quarrelled with him, and had not attended meetings of the Privy Council for some months, now reappeared, and were welcomed by the Duke of Shrewsbury, with whom the move had probably been arranged. At the same Council news arrived from the doctors that Anne's end could not long be delayed. In desperation, and feeling that the control of events had slipped from his hands, Bolingbroke proposed that Shrewsbury should be given the great office of Treasurer, in the hope that the powerful duke, whose intentions he could not fathom, would support him. The Council at once adjourned to Anne's bedside, while Shrewsbury received the staff of office from the queen, who, with a last flash of royal spirit, bade him use it for the good of her people. On the morning of 1st August Anne died, and the enigmatical Treasurer was once more called upon to

play the kingmaker. Rising above his habitual vacillation and reverting to the creed of his earlier days, he at once declared for Hanover, and co-operated energetically with the Whigs in securing the proclamation of the Elector as King George I.

It was the death-blow to all Bolingbroke's schemes, and to the party he had led. At first he clung to the hope of some agreement with the new sovereign, but before August was out George wrote dismissing him from office and ordering the seizure of his papers. The Whigs were triumphant, and the flight of Bolingbroke to France in March 1715 to escape impeachment marked the complete collapse of the Tory party. Conciliation might have won most of it over to the new dynasty, but George's freezing attitude strengthened its Jacobite wing, and drove the whole party into opposition for nearly half a century. With George I. the long supremacy of the Whigs began, and when Toryism reappeared as a factor of political importance under George III. it had undergone a striking metamorphosis, for in his long exile and exclusion from office Bolingbroke forged its principles anew by a frank acceptance of the revolution and by a novel theory of kingship.

His great work thus still lay before him in 1714; and in this he was happier than his old opponents. Godolphin had died in 1712. Oxford was impeached in 1715, and spent two years in the Tower, but was finally acquitted, and lived in retirement until his death in 1724. Marlborough had gone abroad in 1712 to escape from the torrent of calumny which assailed him at home in the Tory press, but he came back with the new king, and was restored to his position of Captain-General. In 1716 he was stricken with apoplexy, but was able to attend Parliament until within a few months of his death in June 1722.

So the old leaders vanished, and with them went a definite epoch in our history. A solution of the constitutional and religious problems of the seventeenth century was evolved in 1688-89, but it was not made

permanent and irrevocable until the accession of the new dynasty in 1714 destroyed all hopes of a restoration of the old line ; and it is this development which gives a unity to the reigns of William and Anne. They were the testing time of the new principles ; a period when the new order, hot from the melting-pot of revolution, was still malleable, and the Constitution of the future was beaten slowly into shape amid a welter of conflicting circumstances and ideas ; an age which, by a sort of dissolving view, reveals the transformation from one distinctive epoch to another. They were years fertile in experiment and innovation, in the development of new tendencies which were to shape the future destinies of the nation ; and they produced men competent to grapple with their problems. Faction and corruption form a dark side to the picture, but a period which contained the careers of William III., Marlborough, Harley, Montague, Bolingbroke, and Godolphin, exclusive of its literary giants, cannot be dismissed as either dull or little. Both at home and abroad these years laid down the lines on which British history has since run. The Bill of Rights was the necessary foundation for later political development ; the Toleration Act was the first step to full religious liberty ; the wars with France struck a note which was to resound throughout the following century ; the rapid evolution of the commercial classes pointed the way to maritime and colonial supremacy ; her internal unity and peace, and her naval and military prowess abroad gave Britain a foremost place among the great powers of Europe ; and at the same time the foundations of her imperial future were laid. Few periods have left a deeper mark upon later history, or been so pregnant with new interests and influences as these twenty-six years, which, in their rich contribution to national development, form a unique panel of colour on the glowing tapestry of our island story.

Chapter VII

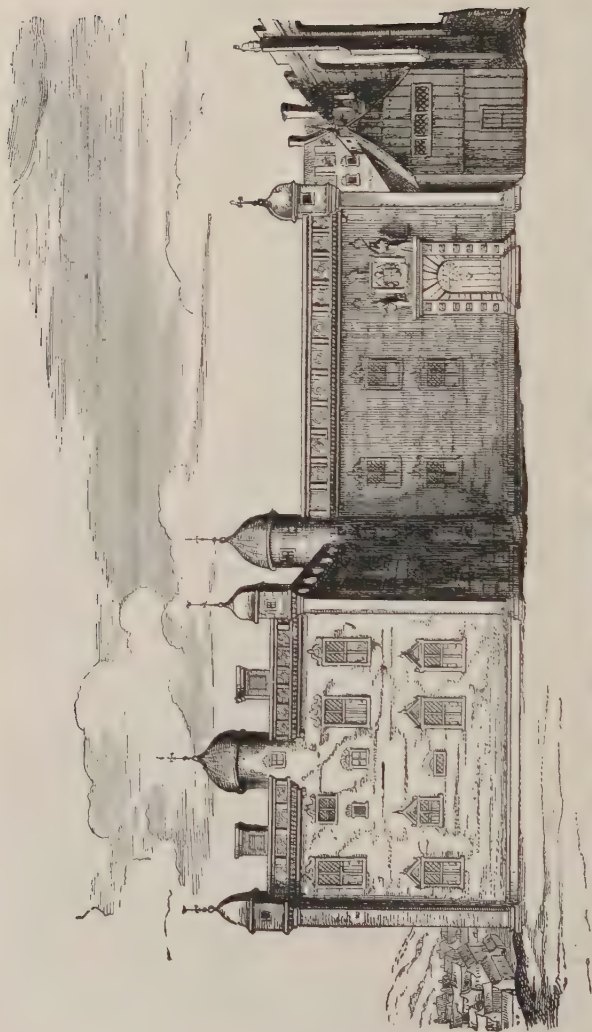
SCOTLAND AND IRELAND, 1688-1714

The Revolution in Scotland

THE news of the revolution in England was welcomed in Scotland, for the northern kingdom had suffered more under the rule of the restored Stuarts, and had been less able to resist their absolutism than its larger neighbour. Ever since the union of the two crowns in 1603 its sovereign had been an absentee, and its Government was controlled from London by a Privy Council, some of whose members were not even Scotsmen. The Scottish Parliament had no check upon the power of the king, for the revenue of Scotland was so insignificant to a monarch who enjoyed that of England, that even the withholding of supplies could not induce him to restrain from an unpopular policy. Indeed, far from Parliament controlling the king, it was the king who controlled Parliament. By an old custom the work of drawing up all legislation was deputed by the Scottish Parliament to a committee known as "The Lords of the Articles," and in practice this meant an almost complete delegation of authority, for Parliament seldom met in full session except to appoint the committee or to ratify the proposals made by it. The ultimate authority therefore really rested with those who could bring the most influence to bear upon the election of the Lords of the Articles, and ever since the time of James VI. this power had lain in the hands of the king. By an arrangement made in that reign the lay peers were first to choose eight bishops, and the selected

prelates then chose eight peers. As all the bishops, from the very nature of their appointment and position, were partisans of the king, the choice of the peers could make little difference to the Government, whilst the bishops were certain to select eight peers favourably disposed towards their master. These sixteen bishops and nobles then combined to appoint eight representatives from the barons and eight from the burgesses in Parliament; and certain high officers of state, who were naturally creatures of the king, were added to complete the committee. Behind this ingenious veil of election the Crown thus practically nominated the body which exercised most of the functions of the Scottish Parliament.

It was this independence from restraint which had enabled Charles II. to restore a religious system which the great majority of Scotsmen disliked, and to enforce it by a ruthless persecution. In defiance of the fact that nine out of every ten Scotsmen were Presbyterians, the Episcopal Church was restored after 1660, the two covenants were denounced by Act of Parliament, penalties were imposed for non-attendance at church, and severe Acts against the conventicles of the Non-conformists were passed. Repression led to rebellion, which in turn produced still sterner coercion, culminating in the "killing time" of 1680-85, when attendance at a conventicle became a capital offence, and the Covenanters in the south-west were harried by dragoons. On top of this enforcement of prelacy came the effort of James VII. to thrust popery upon the most Protestant people in Europe, and even the iniquities of the bishops were forgotten when priests were sent to say mass in Holyrood. But the country was too weak to resist so long as its king commanded the resources of England. There was no constitutional machinery for the redress of its grievances, and with a scanty population, with insignificant trade, and agriculture which was poor and primitive, Scotland had not the resources to win her liberty by force. The revolution in England came,



PARLIAMENT HOUSE, EDINBURGH, IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
(From an engraving by Gordon of Rothiemay, about 1650.)

therefore, as a heaven-sent relief from an intolerable position.

The Government in Scotland immediately collapsed, and all James's creatures either fled or were captured and imprisoned, except the Duke of Gordon, who held out in Edinburgh Castle. A mob quickly sacked the Catholic chapel at Holyrood, while in the south-west the Covenanters took their revenge for years of persecution, and "rabbed" the Episcopal clergy. Their houses were pillaged, their books burnt, and about two hundred of them were expelled from their livings, so that for the time being a condition of complete ecclesiastical anarchy existed.

In January 1689 an assembly of Scottish nobles and gentlemen in London invited William to assume the administration of the country until it could be settled by a meeting of Parliament. He agreed, and a convention was summoned to meet at Edinburgh in March. No effort was made to influence the elections, and as the tests which had hitherto excluded Dissenters were now ignored on William's own suggestion, the majority of those returned were Presbyterians. King James, before he left England, had secretly entrusted his affairs in Scotland to the Earl of Balcarres and Viscount Dundee, better known as John Graham of Claverhouse, and they both attended the convention to watch his interests, with instructions from him to adjourn the meeting in his name and transfer it to Stirling if they thought it necessary.

As soon as the session opened on 14th March, letters were produced from both William and James. William's message was tactful, and referred everything to the convention; but James alienated all sympathy by refusing to offer any concessions, and by ill-timed threats of vengeance on those who had deserted him. Feeling that he could do no good for his master by remaining, and alarmed for his own safety because Edinburgh was full of Covenanters who had come up seeking revenge on their old persecutor, Dundee adjourned the con-

vention in James's name, and retired with the Jacobites to Stirling. The adjournment was, of course, ignored by the other members; but fearing that Dundee might resort to force, and menaced by Gordon, who still held the castle,* the convention called out the militia and ordered all Roman Catholics to retire at least ten miles from the city. Not until the arrival of three regiments from England under General Mackay was a sense of security fully restored.

The settlement of the future government of the country was quickly effected. A committee of twenty-four nobles, barons, and burgesses was elected, and drew up a "Claim of Right"—on the lines of the English Declaration of Rights—which boldly declared that King James had forfeited the throne by his illegal acts, and offered the crown to William and Mary, with the same future succession as had been ordained in England. In the midst of these clauses appeared an apparently extraneous assertion that prelacy was an insupportable grievance and ought to be suppressed. It was put in not only to make the offer of the crown conditional upon its acceptance, but also, by doing this, to make it easier for the new sovereigns to consent to the establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland, since none could blame them for adhering to one of the main terms on which they had received the crown.

In the spring of 1689 the Duke of Argyle, Sir James Montgomery, and Sir John Dalrymple were deputed to go to London and make a formal offer of the throne to William and Mary. It was graciously accepted, the convention was turned into a parliament, and the various high offices of state were filled. Montgomery, a former Covenanter, but an unprincipled, ambitious man, had coveted the position of Secretary of State; but William preferred the more moderate Earl of Melville, and in his rage and chagrin Montgomery went into opposition, and formed from among the many

* He was eventually starved out and forced to surrender in June 1689.

other malcontents who had been disappointed of office a party known as "the Club," which resisted the Government with venomous malice. Throughout the session of 1689 this opposition was strong enough to impede all progress, and involved the Royal Commissioner, the Duke of Hamilton, in a quarrel with Parliament by passing Bills for the total abolition of the Lords of the Articles, and for the restoration of a Presbyterian form of Church government, neither of which he had been authorized to accept. The dispute reached such a pitch in August that supplies for the maintenance of the army were refused, and, in despair, Hamilton adjourned Parliament. The only act of importance was one abolishing Episcopacy, and as nothing had yet been put in its place, the religious condition of Scotland during the winter of 1689-90 was one of complete chaos.

Before Parliament met again in April 1690 William had realized the necessity of acquiescing in the establishment of Presbyterianism, and had replaced Hamilton by the more popular Melville, with instructions to accept such measures as Parliament should propose for the future settlement of the Church. Montgomery and his followers, on the other hand, had tried to form a coalition with the Episcopalians, and were intriguing for the restoration of James. It was a fatal step, for many who had hitherto voted with them shrank from an alliance with those who favoured prelacy and absolutism, and when Parliament met it soon appeared that "the Club" had lost its majority. The work of settlement was therefore able to progress without hindrance, and was completed before the session ended. The old Committee of the Articles was abolished. In its place Parliament was to appoint committees, but might discuss and vote on any proposition without further reference to such bodies. The change was of profound importance, for it emancipated the Scottish Parliament from the direct control of the Crown, and so removed the one link which had hitherto prevented any serious

cleavage between England and Scotland. As the events of the next few years showed, this new independence of Scotland made a parliamentary union with England inevitable unless the two countries were to become entirely separate again as they had been before 1603.

In June 1690 an Act for the settlement of the Church was passed, repealing all laws in favour of Episcopacy and establishing the Presbyterian form of Church government. Those Presbyterian ministers who had been ejected at the Restoration were now restored, and the control of the Church was entrusted to their care, along with such other divines as they should co-opt. Lay patronage, which had been a perennial source of grievance, was abolished, each patron being compensated by a money payment, and the right was transferred to a council of elders and Protestant landowners in each parish. This recognition of Presbyterianism in Scotland by a king who, according to the law of England, had to be a member of the Church of England, was the first real step in that process which has to-day made the Government non-sectarian, for it pointed the way to the principle of the equality of all beliefs in the eyes of the State.

War in the Highlands, and the Massacre of Glencoe

Meanwhile stirring events had been taking place in the north. Soon after Dundee had retired to Stirling, letters to him and to Balcarres from King James were intercepted. Balcarres was arrested, but Dundee retired to the Highlands, and called the clans to arms at Lochaber in May 1689. Few of the Highlanders were Jacobites from conviction, but many of them chafed under the supremacy which the Campbells had established among them, and the fact that the head of the Campbells, the Duke of Argyle, was a supporter of King William, was quite sufficient to cause all his opponents to rally round Dundee in the name of King James. He was joined by a Colonel Cannon and three hundred

men, whom James had sent over from Ireland, and in July occupied Blair Castle, which was surrendered to him by the agent of the Marquis of Athol. Athol's son, who adhered to the new Government, after being refused admission to his father's castle, appealed to Mackay. Anxious not to lose the support of so influential a landowner and chieftain, Mackay collected his tiny army and marched against Blair, but he was attacked by Dundee on his way up the Pass of Killiecrankie and utterly routed by the wild charge of the Highlanders (27th July). Fortunately Dundee was slain in the conflict, and consequently all the fruits of his victory were lost, for his successor, Cannon, had no influence over the clansmen. Mackay managed to get back to Stirling with the remnant of his troops, and quickly collected a new force while Cannon lay inactive in the north and his ranks steadily dwindled. In May 1690 Sir Thomas Livingstone defeated a body of reinforcements which James had sent to join Cannon at Cromdale in the Spey valley, and with this victory all armed resistance came to an end.

The task of pacifying the Highlands still remained. Mackay built Fort William at Inverlochy in 1690 in order to bridle the clans, but many of the chiefs still sulked in their glens, although it was hoped to reconcile them to the new Government. To achieve this end two methods were tried in 1691. The first was bribery, and the Earl of Breadalbane was authorized to spend several thousand pounds in an endeavour to win over the hostile clans. But the choice was unfortunate, for Breadalbane was a member of the House of Campbell, and had personal grievances against some of the chiefs, and especially against Mac Ian, the head of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, who had repeatedly plundered his lands and stolen his cattle. Side by side with Breadalbane's efforts a proclamation was issued (August 1691) offering a pardon to all who would take the oath of allegiance and promise to live peaceably before the end of the year. Reluctantly the chiefs decided to

take advantage of this offer, but they left their submission until the last moment. Eventually all had sworn except Mac Ian of Glencoe, who, partly out of bravado, and partly because he was alarmed by Breadalbane's threats against him, postponed his surrender until the last day of the year. He then went to Fort William to take the oath, but as there was nobody there to administer it he had to go on to Inveraray, and it was 6th January before he could make his legal submission.

The news of this unintentional failure of Mac Ian to take the oath within the prescribed date was seized upon by Sir John Dalrymple, who was then Secretary of State, as an opportunity to punish a notorious robber of cattle, and to set a salutary example of severity to the other clans. His zeal for the enforcement of law and order entirely obliterated his humanity, and having obtained from William a signed order to "extirpate that set of thieves," he proceeded to plan a literal interpretation of the phrase which it was never intended to bear. A hundred and twenty soldiers, under Captain Campbell and Lieutenant Lindsay, were sent from Fort William to Glencoe with orders to root out the "thieving tribe," and not to trouble the Government with prisoners. With diabolical treachery Campbell soothed the first alarm of Mac Ian at his appearance on February 1, 1692, and for twelve days he and his men were hospitably entertained by the Macdonalds. Then the object of the visit was revealed. Early in the morning of the 13th the troops fell upon their sleeping hosts. Mac Ian and about thirty of his clan, including women and children, were slain, but the remainder managed to take to the hills under cover of the darkness, though many of them subsequently perished from cold and hunger. The full story of the atrocious crime was not revealed until a year later, and even then a demand for an inquiry by the Scottish Parliament was stifled. Only in 1695 did the popular outcry in Scotland force the Government to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the massacre. It decided that Dalrymple

ought to be censured, and that the officers concerned were guilty of murder ; but the former merely resigned his Secretaryship and no attempt was made to punish the latter. By thus protecting those who had been responsible for the crime William made one of his few lapses from a strict adherence to justice, and afforded some ground for those who have discerned in his nature a streak of politic callousness.

The Darien Scheme

His omission in this case was quickly forgotten, for by 1695 Scotland was intensely interested in a totally different subject. In spite of the union of the two crowns Scotland had always been treated, from a commercial point of view, as a foreign country by her southern neighbour, and Scotsmen had never been permitted to participate in English trade on the same terms as native Englishmen. Cromwell was the first to alter this policy. He abolished the Parliament of Scotland and forcibly incorporated her with England, but at the same time he granted free trade throughout the whole island. The latter Act "served to open the eyes of the Scots to the material advantages connected with a closer union with a more powerful and wealthy neighbour," * and when that freedom was abolished after the Restoration by the Navigation Act—from the benefits of which Scotland was debarred—great discontent was aroused in the northern kingdom. Scotsmen could not forget the taste of commercial prosperity which Cromwell had given them, and as ecclesiastical animosities waned, interest in trade and in the pursuit of wealth increased.

This anxiety to found a lucrative commerce, and at the same time to assert an independence of England in matters of trade, was fired into activity in 1695 by a scheme which William Paterson propounded. Paterson had been to the West Indies as a young man, and was

* Mackinnon, p. 9.

obsessed by the idea that the Isthmus of Panama, or Darien, as it was then called, was the key of the world's traffic. He believed that a colony there would become the channel for the whole trade of the Atlantic and the Pacific, and that wealth untold awaited those who controlled this great mart. He denied that the climate of the district was unfit for white men to live and work in, and conveniently overlooked the possibility of a collision with Spain, who claimed dominion over the whole of that area—or rather, he asserted, on no authority but his own, that the Isthmus had never yet been annexed by any European state. He had canvassed the idea unsuccessfully among the prudent merchants of London and Amsterdam for some years before he finally turned to his native country; but in Scotland his confident prophecies of unbounded prosperity soon caught the ears of an unsophisticated people who thirsted for trade and wealth. Darien was not mentioned at first, but a vague scheme for participating in the rich commerce of America and the Indies was depicted in glowing colours, and the whole of Scotland clamoured for its adoption. In June 1695 the Government, glad of an opportunity to divert public attention from the Glencoe scandal, sanctioned the formation of a "Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies" which was to enjoy a monopoly of trade with Asia, Africa, and America, and was authorized to found settlements and build towns on any unoccupied territory. It was also given permission to confiscate the ships of interlopers, raise troops, and wage war, and the king was made to promise in the charter to obtain reparation if the company was injured by a foreign state. The capital of the company was to be £600,000, of which half was to be held by resident Scotsmen. The remainder it was hoped to raise in London. But an outcry was quickly aroused against the plan in England by merchants who feared that it would prejudice the rich East India trade, and by all who considered that it might involve a conflict with Spain. Parliament

petitioned the king against the new company, and he dismissed the Commissioner, Tweeddale, who had sanctioned it. At the same time pressure was put upon the English directors and shareholders to withdraw. Thrown thus on their own resources, the Scots, now more incensed than ever against the English, still persevered, and by August 1696 they had managed to raise £400,000 in their own country. Ships and cargoes were purchased on the Continent, and at last, in July 1698, Paterson sailed from Leith with twelve hundred men and women to found the new colony. They landed at Darien in November and called their settlement New Edinburgh.

But it was doomed from the start. Spain at once protested against the invasion of her territory and sent a force to expel the new-comers, who soon found themselves short of provisions. They were unable to obtain supplies from the English colonies in America because the colonists had been prohibited by proclamation from holding any intercourse with Darien. With the rainy season fever set in, the settlers died in hundreds, and in June 1699 the remnant were forced to abandon the Isthmus and retire to New York. Another body of colonists had meanwhile left Scotland, and reached the deserted settlement in November. They made a half-hearted effort to rebuild it, but in February 1700 they were blockaded by land and sea by Spanish forces, and had to capitulate and agree to depart in the following month.

The Union of England and Scotland

The whole of Paterson's grandiose scheme thus collapsed ignominiously, and the full force of the fury which the failure naturally aroused in Scotland was directed against England for her opposition and refusal of support against the Spaniards. William, who as King of Scotland had been called upon to sanction a measure which, as King of England, he was forced to oppose, speedily realized the necessity of reforming

the relationship which existed between the two countries. Darien proved conclusively the danger of divided interests, and embittered disputes which threatened since the old subservience of Scotland had been destroyed by the Claim of Right, and William saw that the existing loose bond with England was too weak to stand the strain. Either it must be severed altogether, which was a policy of despair, or else it must be replaced by some closer form of union. He had suggested the latter as early as 1689, and he now revived the project. Acting on his advice, the House of Lords passed a Bill appointing Commissioners to consider the question of union in February 1700, but it was rejected by the Commons. William, however, persevered, and his last message to the Lords before he died was one which again recommended a union to them.

The accession of Anne brought with it new motives for pursuing this policy. The outbreak of the Spanish Succession War made it desirable to remove dissensions at home which could only be a source of weakness, and "to shut that back door against the practices of France and the attempts of the pretended Prince of Wales";* whilst the fact that the succession to the crown of Scotland was undetermined after the death of the queen, for the Act of Settlement did not extend to the northern kingdom, made English statesmen anxious to come to some agreement by which Scotland could be persuaded to adopt the Hanoverian succession. If the strained relations continued which Darien had produced, it was feared that the Scots might insist on recalling the Pretender to the throne on the death of his sister—a move which could only be a constant menace to the revolution settlement in England, and might easily lead to a restoration of the old dynasty in Westminster as well as in Holyrood.

In the right to dispose of their crown after Anne's demise the Scots had thus a very strong position from which to bargain. On the other hand, England alone

* Burnet, Vol. III., p. 434.

could open the gate to that trade which the Scots coveted, and which Darien had proved that they could never acquire by their own efforts. The surrender of these advantages by each country was the price ultimately paid for the union; but the obstacles in the way of this apparently simple compromise were numerous. Intense national pride and smouldering resentment for the recent past in Scotland, commercial jealousy and contemptuous indifference in England,* and the intrigues of Jacobites in both countries, all helped to impede an amicable settlement; and behind there loomed the still more thorny question of religion. The Scots abhorred the idea of being ruled by a Parliament in which bishops sat, and the apparently intolerant spirit which prompted the attempt to pass an Occasional Conformity Bill in England alarmed them for the future toleration of Presbyterianism, whilst the English Tories were not anxious to reinforce their opponents in Parliament by a body of Scottish Presbyterians, a result which would inevitably follow a union.

Yet, in spite of these conflicting elements, the need was too pressing, and the advantages which a union would undoubtedly provide too real and desirable, for either country to refuse to negotiate. Anne recommended the question of a union to her first Parliament, and Commissioners were speedily nominated. The opposition in the Scottish Parliament, led by the Duke of Hamilton, seceded rather than acquiesce in the proposal, but the queen was none the less authorized to appoint Commissioners for Scotland, and the representatives of the two countries met in London in November 1702. By the following February their discussions had broken down because of the refusal of the English to recognize the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies, and to refund its shareholders

* Sir Edmund Seymour illustrates the attitude of one section of opinion in England: "What a pother is here about an union with Scotland, of which all the advantage we shall get will be no more than what a man gets by marrying a beggar—a louse for his portion."

out of public money ; and for the moment the prospect of union seemed darker than ever.

In May 1703 a new Parliament met in Scotland and speedily carried matters to a crisis. In August it passed an Act of Security, declaring that on the death of Anne the Scottish Parliament was to appoint a Protestant successor descended from the old line of sovereigns, but the successor to the crown of England was to be excluded "unless that in this session of Parliament there be such conditions of government settled and enacted as may secure the honour and independency of the crown of this kingdom, the freedom, frequency, and the power of the Parliament, and the religious liberty and trade of the nation from the English or any forraigne influence." At the same time another "Act anent Peace and War" was carried which prohibited the queen's successors from making war or peace without the consent of the Scottish Parliament. Both Acts were, and were meant to be, an ultimatum to England that if no satisfactory union was arranged Scotland would resume the full independence she had enjoyed before 1603. The Commissioner, Queensberry, sanctioned the "Act anent Peace and War," but was ordered to reject the Act of Security, and the Parliament was adjourned. When it met again in July 1704 it immediately reaffirmed the Act of Security, and refused to vote supplies until it was passed. It was just before Blenheim, when no man knew whether Marlborough's bold march into Germany would result in victory or disaster, and when an invasion of Scotland by the French was considered imminent. The situation was so critical that Anne had to permit Queensberry to accept the Act of Security (August).

No sooner had she done so than the news of Marlborough's great victory arrived, and the English Parliament at once proceeded to retaliate on Scotland for the threats and insults which the Act of Security was held to contain. In January 1705 Acts were passed empowering the queen to nominate a new set of Com-

missioners to negotiate a union, but at the same time declaring all Scots, except those settled in England, to be aliens, prohibiting the import of cattle from Scotland or the export of wool to the northern kingdom, and arranging for the repair and garrisoning of the English border fortifications, and for the provision of cruisers to suppress the trade which was still being carried on between Scotland and France. These various Acts were to come into force in the following December.

Faced by this resolute attitude, the Scots had no alternative but to climb down, and in the summer of 1705 the Scottish Parliament agreed to treat once more for a union, provided that the Act declaring Scotsmen to be aliens in England was repealed. This was at once done by the English Parliament, whose leaders desired to conciliate the Scots and make the surrender of their independence as easy as possible for them; and in February 1706 the queen appointed Commissioners to represent Scotland, drawn from all parties except that which was irrevocably pledged to oppose a union. In April they began negotiations with the English Commissioners in London, and within ten days the main problem which faced them was solved. The alternative to a union was war, and England was in so strong a position after the victories of Marlborough that the Scots could not hope to challenge her successfully. The English Commissioners used their power tactfully and considerately. They insisted upon a full and complete union as the only means of securing a perfect and lasting friendship between the two nations; but once that point was conceded they were ready to prove themselves both compliant and generous. The Scots had hoped for a federal union by which they might retain their Parliament, but the English were adamant against it, and on 25th April the Scots gave way on condition that they received complete freedom of trade with England and her colonies. The later discussions of the Commissioners only lasted a few weeks, and were merely concerned with the subsidiary points which arose

out of this central agreement. By 23rd July all the negotiations had been completed, and the full terms of the proposed union were ready for submission to the two Parliaments.

The chief clauses were those which provided for the representation of Scotland in the new united Parliament of Great Britain by forty-five members in the House of Commons and by sixteen peers in the House of Lords, who were to be elected for each Parliament by the Scottish peerage ; and that which granted full freedom of trade to all subjects of the United Kingdom. The Hanoverian succession was accepted by both countries. English customs duties, coinage, weights, and measures were to be used throughout the whole island, and the principle of a general equality of taxation was laid down, on the understanding that Scotland should receive some compensation for shouldering a portion of the English National Debt. The Scottish Darien Company was suppressed, and in return for this sacrifice and for her share in the burden of the debt and the losses caused by the change of coinage, Scotland was paid "the Equivalent," as it was called, of £398,085, 10s. The Scottish law and courts of judicature were to remain unaltered, but subject to future changes by the Parliament of Great Britain.

These terms were presented to the Scottish Parliament in October 1706. They met with severe criticism throughout the country, and there were riots in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dumfries, and elsewhere ; but the more moderate party, which was not blinded by irreconcilable national pride or by the unreasoning prejudices of the mob, realized that, great as the sacrifices demanded undoubtedly were, the future advantages offered by the union justified those who had the real welfare of Scotland at heart in making them. By January 1707 all the clauses of the proposed union were accepted by the Parliament of Scotland, and two more were added to soothe the alarm of those who feared for the safety of the Scottish Church. By them "the Presbyterian

creed, worship, discipline, and government" was guaranteed to the people of Scotland "without any alteration in all succeeding generations";* and the queen's successors "in all time coming" were to take an oath at their accession to maintain and preserve the Presbyterian Church in Scotland. In March the Bill for union passed the English Parliament and received the queen's assent. In April the Parliament of the northern kingdom was finally dissolved, and on 1st May the union came into force.

It was an Act fraught with the greatest benefits to both peoples. "It closed an embittered and complicated chapter in the history and relations of the two nations; it consummated the revolution settlement in two countries."† To England it gave a great accession of strength and the removal of an ancient menace on her northern frontiers. To Scotland it opened the door to a rich trade, which in the future was to raise her from obscurity and poverty to an undreamt-of prosperity; and to both, strong and united in their equal partnership, it gave a position in the world which neither could have enjoyed apart. The grant of equal rights in England and the Empire gave to the Scotsman a wider field for his talents, and in return he has contributed to an incalculable degree by his industry, valour, and genius to the well-being of the common heritage. This success the union owed to the nature of its origin. Unlike the ill-fated Irish union of 1800, it was a treaty between two independent and sovereign states, based equally upon the advantages of both. Where agreement was essential, as in the case of the fusion of the two Parliaments, it was the outcome of a free and fair bargain. Where it was not essential, as in the case of religion or law, there was a frank recognition and acceptance of

* It is an interesting illustration of the omniscience of the British Parliament that this attempt to set up a fundamental and unalterable law was never recognized. Within five years these clauses concerning the Scottish Church were infringed by legislation of the united Parliament.

† Grant Robertson, *Statutes and Documents*, p. 162.

differences, so that the Act gave benefits to both and left no real grievances for either country.

It was, however, a long time before this was fully realized. At first the union aroused great opposition and hostility in Scotland. The loss of national independence was naturally galling to a proud people, the majority of whom could not visualize or appreciate the advantages for which it had been exchanged. They saw only that their Parliament had vanished, and that the country was overrun with English officials collecting excise and customs duties which had not existed before. Nor did the behaviour of the new united Parliament tend to allay this unpopularity, for "things were . . . so ordered as if the design had been to contrive methods to exasperate the spirit of the people there." * The Scottish Privy Council was abolished ; the English treason laws were extended to Scotland ; lay patronage was restored in the Church of Scotland ; the oath of abjuration was imposed upon the Presbyterian clergy ; and toleration was granted to Scottish Episcopalians. Superficially these various measures appeared to support the complaint that Scotland was being subordinated to the influence and the interest of her greater neighbour. The early effects of the union on her commerce seemed also to prove the same fact, for the Scottish cloth trade was ruined by English competition ; the salt tax damaged the fish trade ; in 1711 an export duty was placed on linen, which was the chief manufactured product of Scotland ; and in 1713 the English malt tax was extended over the whole island, to the detriment of Scottish brewers. These grievances made such a deep impression that in 1713 all the Scottish representatives and peers in Parliament combined to try to secure the repeal of the union, an attempt which was only rejected in the House of Lords by four votes, and it was the universal opinion in Scotland at the time that the Act of 1702 had been a national disaster. The accession of the House of

* Burnet, Vol. IV., p. 205.

Hanover finally sealed the political union of the two peoples, but it was not until the era of the industrial revolution that Scotland reaped the fruits of her sacrifice half a century earlier. Both her Jacobitism and her discontent vanished rapidly before the great advance in material prosperity which set in after 1760, and the prescient wisdom of the statesmen of 1707 was fully revealed in the great position which her sons won for her in the following century.

Ireland. The Penal Code against the Catholics

It is a sad contrast to turn from the union of England and Scotland, with its promise of a brighter and happier future, to the story of Ireland, which runs like a sable thread through the fair tapestry of a period otherwise so rich in social progress and in intellectual enlightenment.

Racial and religious feeling had been too deeply aroused during the struggle of 1689-92 for the voice of conciliation to make itself heard when the Treaty of Limerick was signed. Instead, perpetual repression became the sole purpose of government. This policy revealed itself in the erection of a fierce penal code against the Irish Catholics. Elizabeth and Cromwell had sought to extirpate the papists in Ireland by the sword; the Parliaments of William and Anne endeavoured to legislate them out of existence, and by so doing nurtured an even more intense bitterness against England than ever the ruthless conquest of Mountjoy or the bloody massacres of Cromwell had done.

This code of persecuting statutes was based on fear rather than on mere lust for revenge, and it derived at least a partial justification from the apparent necessity of defending the small minority of English and Scottish settlers from the native Irish, who had twice risen in rebellion in the previous half-century. It was only natural that the handful of alien landlords who had

dispossessed the native owners of the soil, who lived in the midst of a sullen peasantry, and whose very presence was a constant reminder to the Irish of the degradation of their country and faith, should tremble for their safety and be driven to that severity which is always the resort of weakness. The Irish were habitually spoken of as the "common enemy"; they were regarded as amenable only to force and fear; and every effort was made to stamp out the creed on which their hostility and insubordination was supposed to rest.

Most of the penal legislation against the Irish Catholics was passed in the years 1692, 1695, 1697, 1703-4, and 1709, with a few additions in the reigns of George I. and George II., which lie outside the present period. By it the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and the declaration against transubstantiation, were imposed upon all office holders, members of Parliament, and on those who held commissions in the army or navy, or who joined any of the learned professions, so that all these careers or avenues to public service were closed to papists (1692).^{*} They were equally excluded from the university, and were prohibited from acting as schoolmasters or tutors, or from sending their children abroad to be educated on pain of forfeiture of all their lands and goods (1695). Legally, therefore, they could enjoy no training at all under men of their own faith. No papist was permitted to possess or carry arms, and their houses were liable to be searched for them at any time (1695). Nor could they own a horse worth more than five pounds—that is, a horse fit for anything else but farm labour; and a Protestant was entitled to seize the horse of any Catholic on tendering a payment of five pounds (1695). Even in trade the papists were burdened by special impositions, and in some of the garrisoned and fortified cities, like Limerick and Galway, they were forbidden to settle or to buy property (1703).

^{*} The exclusion of Irish Catholics from Parliament—which was a breach of the Treaty of Limerick—was imposed by the English Parliament.

IRELAND



They were equally debarred from buying land or inheriting it, or from receiving it as a gift (1704). Inter-marriage with Protestants was especially frowned upon. A Protestant woman who married a papist lost all her property, which went to her nearest Protestant relation, whilst a Protestant man who married a Catholic wife was treated as a recusant and was exposed to all the disabilities which the penal laws imposed (1697). Other Acts set up a system of bribery to induce Catholics to renounce their faith, and sowed treachery and discord in the family circle. The estates of all Catholic land-owners had to be divided equally among their sons, unless the eldest turned Protestant, in which case he was to inherit the whole (1703). If any of the other sons became converts they could not be disinherited, and could claim a sufficient allowance even in their parents' lifetime (1704). Children were thus encouraged to revolt by an appeal to the basest of instincts, and suspicion was thrust into the life of every home. The laws against popish priests were still sterner. One was permitted in each parish, but he had to register himself and give other information by which he could always be identified. He was not allowed to celebrate Mass in any other parish but his own, or to have a curate, and bells, steeples, or the display of the cross in public were strictly forbidden. The number of holy days was limited, and all who refused to work on those which they had been forbidden to recognize were ordered to be fined and whipped (1695). All other members of the Catholic hierarchy, and all friars and monks, were banished from the island, and severe penalties were imposed on any who were found harbouring them (1697), so that confirmation, ordination, induction, or the general organization of the Church were legally impossible. Finally, and what was perhaps the most galling provision of all, since the Reformation the Catholic peasantry had been forced to pay tithe to the Protestant clergy for the maintenance of a Church which they regarded as heretical.

For its actual enforcement this Draconian code depended upon the rapacity of a swarm of informers, who in 1704 were given the blessing of the Irish Parliament in a resolution that "prosecuting and informing against papists was an honourable service to the Government." The country teemed with spies, who cared nothing for the creed but coveted the property of their victims, and made a discreditable livelihood from the rich rewards they were entitled to claim for hunting down unregistered priests or reporting evasions of the land laws.

But as the memory of the rebellion of 1689 and the fear of its recrudescence waned, the tolerant attitude of the eighteenth century slowly replaced this spirit of persecution, and the informers were discountenanced. The old stern fanaticism died out, and although the Parliament at Dublin might still fulminate against the papists, the Protestant landowners, who had come under that strange, genial spell which the Irish have seldom failed to exercise, could not be persuaded to betray their papist neighbours or to seize the advantages which the law offered them. Instead, they connived at its breach, and not infrequently joined in a friendly piece of camouflage by which a Catholic friend might evade the strict letter of the law. By the year 1750 the legislation of William and Anne was virtually obsolete; but this ameliorating process had hardly begun before 1714, and the penal code was still somewhat rigidly enforced.

Its effect upon the Irish was disastrous. The weaker became apostates, or pretended to be so. The others ceased to respect the law, took refuge in conspiracy, and speedily developed the principle that "illegal violence was the natural protection against immoral laws." * They took to the bogs, and plundered the lands of the hated Protestants, destroying their corn or houghing their cattle. In the west, where the Protestant settlers had scarcely penetrated, the law was practically inoperative, and priests and friars

* Lecky, *History of Ireland*, Vol. I., p. 273.

landed on the coast of Connaught with impunity, in spite of all the legislation against them. The whole of the native population was soon involved in one great plot to frustrate the law and defy the Government, and the demoralizing effect of this atmosphere of lawlessness and conspiracy sank deep into the Irish character. Resistance, from being almost a necessity, became a habit; distrust was so fully justified that it grew to be indelible; hate was so liberally nurtured that two centuries have not sufficed to eradicate it.

Other Grievances of the Irish

The persecuting statutes were, for the most part, imposed upon the Irish by the alien settlers, but natives and settlers alike had a further grievance in the commercial restrictions which were imposed upon them by the English Parliament. The current economic theory would not permit of any colonial competition which was, or was considered to be, detrimental to the trade of the mother country, and already in Charles II.'s reign the importing into England of Irish cattle, sheep, or swine, alive or dead, had been prohibited in the supposed interests of the English farmer, thereby depriving Ireland of her most lucrative market. She had also been excluded from the trade of the American colonies by the Navigation Act of 1663. These restraints forced the inhabitants to concentrate upon the development of the woollen trade. Large areas were converted from arable into sheep walks, and a thriving export trade in wool and manufactured woollen goods was built up with all the world except the English colonies. But the jealousy and alarm of the wool and cloth merchants in England was aroused, and in 1699 the Irish were prohibited from exporting raw or manufactured wool to any country but England, where the duties on it were so heavy as to be almost prohibitive. The trade was thus stamped out, and an undeserved and unnecessary poverty was added to the many

wrongs which the Irish were accumulating against their oppressors. Some effort was made to compensate them by encouraging their linen trade. Irish linen was admitted into England free of duty, a tax of 25 per cent. was levied on all imports of foreign linen, and the manufacture of linen goods, which was developing in England itself, and especially in Lancashire, was suppressed. But the linen industry was mainly restricted to Ulster, and could not replace the wool trade for which the soil and climate of the island was peculiarly fitted. The majority of the inhabitants were left by the Act of 1699 with no other legal outlet for their energies but farming under rack rents on the land of absentee English landlords, which was frequently sublet five or six times before it reached the hands of the actual cultivator, from whom was exacted the rents and profits of all the intermediary lessees. The peasantry were thus beaten down to the lowest level of subsistence, and in the train of this poverty came the usual accompaniments of vagrancy, famine, and disease. In the west, where facilities offered, many took to smuggling, and an illicit trade was carried on along the whole coast of Connaught and Kerry. The more resolute emigrated. Some went to the American colonies, and began that westward flow which reached such gigantic proportions in the middle of the nineteenth century; others took service in the courts and armies of the Continent, and were to be found acting in every capacity from Spain to Russia throughout the eighteenth century.

The settlers in Ireland had a separate complaint of their own against the home Government in the filling of all Irish offices by Englishmen. To be born in Ireland amounted to an almost complete disqualification from holding any appointment. For the English Government the island was a rich field of jobbery, where pensions and positions might be granted to needy relatives of the influential and to the whole host of hangers-on who clamoured round every statesman, without any inconvenient questions being asked in

Parliament. In Ireland itself no effective protest could be made against either the legislation or the corruption which England imposed upon her, for the settlers there, in the midst of a hostile population, depended for their position and their preservation on the knowledge that the strength of England lay behind them. Moreover, the Irish Parliament was completely subordinate, for its statutes had to be submitted to and approved by the English Privy Council before they became law, and the English Parliament claimed the right to legislate for Ireland over the head of the Irish Parliament, if it thought it expedient.*

Nor were the settlers sufficiently united among themselves to present a firm front to the repressive attitude of their mother country. Though they had fought shoulder to shoulder at Londonderry and elsewhere, the Scottish Presbyterian and the English Episcopalian could not forget their differences when peace was restored. The Protestant Dissenters enjoyed no legal toleration in Ireland until 1719, and then it was only won in the teeth of fierce opposition from the whole bench of Irish bishops. In 1704 the English Test Act was introduced into the country, and Nonconformists were thus shut out from all civil and military offices. Even the *Regium Donum*—an annual grant of £1,200 which William III. had made towards the upkeep of dissenting ministers in Ulster—was suppressed in 1711, and remained so for the rest of Anne's reign. There were constant squabbles and recriminations between the adherents of the two Churches, and one more line of division was added to the distracted island.

When Anne died, Ireland presented to the world the unhappy spectacle of a people ruled by an intrusive minority of alien settlers, deprived of all political rights, and subjected to a fierce code of persecuting statutes. The flames of rebellion had once more been stamped down, and for nearly a century after the revolution the island was outwardly quiet. But it was the quiescence

* Poynings' Laws, 1494.

of exhaustion and not of content. For the moment William's sword, like Cromwell's, brought peace. It was left for the statesmen of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to reap the sad harvest of this fatal seed-time, and to yield a tardy retribution for all the wrongs and miseries of Ireland's tragic past.

Chapter VIII

LITERATURE AND ART

Character of the Period

LITERATURE is always important to a student of history, because it reveals the intellectual impulses which were at work in any given epoch, and what men were thinking and feeling about life. It affords the clearest indication of the "soul" of the times, and of those mental processes which lay behind the activities that constitute history in the narrower interpretation of the word. And the literature of the age of Anne is of exceptional importance, for in few periods has the intellectual outlook and social life been mirrored by writers more faithfully or with greater brilliancy and fertility, and in none has literature been more closely interwoven with the main stream of the nation's history.

The age inherited a great deal from the Restoration era, and the literary output of the reign of William III. belonged rather to the preceding thirty years than it did to the "Augustan" period which followed. The post-Restoration writers had introduced into English literature new styles and a new spirit which lasted on into the eighteenth century. The former they derived from an enthusiastic cult of classical models, and from the French influence which became strong after the return of Charles II. Both in verse and prose they were zealots for order and system, and aimed at replacing the old, loose, and often fantastic exuberance of phraseology and diction by a disciplined simplicity of style based on definite "rules." They cultivated good

taste, correctness, and regularity, and just as the architects of the age preferred the classical building with its air of unity, harmony, balance, and ordered plan to the florid extravagance of the Gothic style, so the men of letters rejected the "Gothick" methods of the Elizabethans, and went back to classical writers for models which might satisfy their sense of exactness and polish. In the treatment of their subjects a similar attitude was adopted, and they insisted upon a strict observation of the "unities" of time, place, and action. It offended their sense of unity and restraint, for example, that Shakespeare should jostle together in *Hamlet* scenes in the palace and the churchyard, royalties and gravediggers. Such a medley of localities and social classes was to them a proof of bad taste, and Voltaire summed up the opinion of the age when he dismissed Shakespeare as merely "a barbarian of genius." It thus came about that the works of the great dramatist were actually re-written and adapted to suit the exquisite refinement of this later generation.

The development of a simpler, less ornate, and more methodical style harmonized with the spirit of the new age. The literary men were still grouped round the court and London society, and took their tone from their environment. Their work was municipal rather than national, reflecting only the ideas of the smart set in the capital and not of the nation as a whole. This society for which they catered represented a reaction against the lofty aspirations of the preceding epoch. Its admiration was reserved for intellectual capacity, and not for depth of feeling or for intensity of belief. It loved the witty sally, the brilliant epigram, the pregnant phrase; and it had a keen curiosity about every aspect of life which led it to value lucidity, closeness of reasoning, logical sequences of ideas, and a general didactic tone rather than a purely literary prettiness or grandeur. Above all, it was a critical, self-centred age. It liked to see and be seen, to talk and to be talked about, to discuss its fellow-beings from every aspect, to dissect

their characters, reveal their motives, laugh at their foibles, and mock at their vices. It was, in fact, wrapt up in itself and its own doings with an almost smug complacency, which led it to ignore the future and scornfully to dismiss all the past except the classical era as unworthy of notice. A similar movement had emanated in France thirty years earlier from the *salons* of Madame de Rambouillet and her followers; and society in Restoration England displayed much of the atmosphere of the *salon*—the keenness of intellect, the intense personal interest displayed within the charmed circle, and the emphasis on grace and politeness. What it lacked was a corresponding intensity of imagination, passion, and earnestness. It was prosaic and unimaginative, dead to all romance, to the deeper wells of human pathos and feeling, to any yearning to reach out into the unknown, and to the sublimity of belief which had inspired Milton. Perhaps even the very meaning of love was a closed book to it. It was a matter-of-fact generation which took life as it found it, and did not trouble about what it ought to be; and its main interest was devoted to studying man as he was with unblushing candour, rather than in seeking to draw out the best that was in him. Evelyn saw nothing incongruous in hurrying to see the regicides undergo the ghastly penalties of a traitor's death in 1662, or a criminal in Paris suffer on the rack; and the Marquis of Halifax, in his *Advice to a Daughter*, accepted with almost brutal frankness the probability that his child's husband would be a drunkard or a libertine. Intellect was polished to a high degree, but refinement of feeling, which alone could give true nobility of character, was almost entirely lacking, and a strain of moral barbarism ran beneath the glossed surface of the time. This was especially true of its attitude towards women, for profligacy in action was supported by a degraded theory of the relationship of the sexes—partly, no doubt, a reaction against the strict morality of Puritanism—which refused to recognize any distinction between love and animal passion,

regarded seduction and adultery as necessary accomplishments of a fine gentleman, and left to the female a complete monopoly of those moral duties from which man regarded himself as exempt. The refining influence of woman, the ennobling power which springs from pure love, and the self-surrender on which it is based, were denied or ignored.

The New Verse and Prose. Dryden

To meet the literary needs of this formal, critical, curious, and keen-witted generation, with its abundance of common sense and its lack of common feeling, its love of the didactic and the practical, and its hatred of sentiment and enthusiasm, some new literary vehicle was obviously needed to replace the old romantic rambling mode of expression. This was found in the heroic couplet and in a movement to drill and dignify prose style. What was aimed at was a medium, both in verse and prose, which in simple, terse, and ordered language would enable the writer to instruct, orate, argue, reason, and criticize rather than give expression to any depth of feeling or passion, and which would, at the same time, afford scope for the practice of that brilliancy of wit and neatness of expression that was so much prized. On the whole the change was a beneficial one, for the old style, with its extravagance of metaphor, its vagaries of rhythm, and its long, involved sentences, had needed a master-hand to wield, and had occasionally lapsed into something not far removed from mere gibberish. To a modern reader the style of Clarendon's *History*, or of Milton's prose work, involves a mental strain because of its ornate and complicated grandeur. The men of the new school swept all that away, and produced a simple, lucid English which might serve not only for the studies of the erudite but for all the ordinary purposes of everyday life. It was significant that they thus enlarged the scope of the language at the very time when new classes outside the court and

society circles were rising to prominence and beginning to take an interest in literature.

The great poet and dramatist, John Dryden (1631-1700), not only forms a useful link between the Restoration and the post-Revolution period, since he lived on until near the end of William's reign, but his work also illustrates the new tendencies which were developing in literature, for he did more than anybody to perfect and to popularize the couplet and to educate his contemporaries in the new prose. Both in his dramas (comic and tragic) and in his superb satirical poems Dryden broke away from blank verse and adopted the heroic couplet which had owed its first introduction into England to the poet Waller (1606-87). It consisted of two rhyming decasyllabic lines, and proved to be an excellent medium for invective, argument, and irony, though, unless it was carefully handled, it tended to become monotonous to the reader. But Dryden's genius easily avoided this defect, and proved that the couplet was an admirable instrument for the exercise of that satire and wit in which the age delighted. This was especially true of the drama, which, more than any other form of literary composition, pleased a generation that was never tired of holding a mirror to itself and its doings. In prose Dryden was the chief among a number of writers who developed that plain style which had first been adumbrated by Cowley (1618-67). John Bunyan (1628-88), whose simple, unadorned narratives have vitally influenced every succeeding generation of Englishmen; John Evelyn, the diarist (1620-1706), who borrowed brevity and grace of style from French models; Sir William Temple (1628-99), the author of several essays written in language distinguished by its clearness and simplicity; John Tillotson (1630-94), Archbishop of Canterbury, whose writings and sermons were all marked by great attention to plainness of diction and construction; and the Marquis of Halifax, the famous "Trimmer" (1633-95), who wrote several political pamphlets—all helped to reform English prose;

but it was Dryden more than anybody who got rid of long sentences, metaphorical extravagances, the classicisms so beloved by the older generation, and all the vulgarities of the vernacular, and forged an unpretentious limpid prose for everyday use. This he did by the



WILLIAM CONGREVE.

example he set in his *Essay on Dramatic Poesy* (1668), modelled on the writings of the great French dramatist Corneille, and in the prefaces to his plays, and to the *Fables*—adapted from Chaucer and Boccaccio—which he published in 1700. In addition, Dryden did much to regularize grammar and reform diction. His love of

expression for its own sake naturally led him to strive to increase the beauty and efficiency of the medium in which he worked, and he himself confessed that it had been his life's object to improve the language. Dr. Johnson said of him that he found the language brick and left it marble. To dismiss the English of Shakespeare and Milton as brick is obviously exaggerated, and was a characteristic Johnsonian impertinence; but none the less Dryden and his followers did help to reduce English grammar to a definite system, and to establish a recognized dictionary and fixed rules of composition. It is perhaps hardly too much to say that they evolved from a luxuriant but chaotic growth the lucid and orderly English which is written to-day.

The Drama and Prose under William III

The revolution of 1688 was destined to have a great influence upon literature, but this was not immediately visible, and the reign of William III. was, comparatively speaking, a barren one both in literary output and in new developments. No verse of any merit was produced, except by Dryden, and the comic drama alone, the most characteristic product of the time, showed signs of vitality. Thomas Shadwell (1640-92), who succeeded Dryden as Laureate after the revolution, George Farquhar (1678-1707), and Sir John Vanbrugh (1664-1726), all produced comedies in the Restoration style, and Dryden also wrote several in the early years of William's reign; but the most outstanding dramatist of the period was William Congreve (1670-1729), whose four best known comedies, *The Old Bachelor*, *The Double Dealer*, *Love for Love*, and *The Way of the World*, were all produced between 1690 and 1700. His work was distinguished by an exquisite wit and by a sparkling epigrammatic dialogue which almost wearies by very reason of its sustained brilliance and subtlety. In dramatic movement, repartee, and portraiture of character Congreve outshone all his contemporaries, and his

wit stands, as Macaulay said, without a rival save Sheridan in the history of the English drama. But below their "verbal fireworks" he and his school were lacking in the breadth of feeling and sympathy which the highest form of humour demands, and in their mirth there lurked a hard, cynical view of human nature, visible especially in the gross coarseness which tainted them all. In part, at least, this was not sheer eroticism, but was due to an intellectual honesty which made them endeavour to depict faithfully the men and women they saw around them, with all their frailties and vices. Yet this is only a partial excuse, and it must be admitted that they shared to the full the profligate, unfeeling spirit which the reaction against Puritanism had evoked, and only too complacently accepted faithlessness, inconstancy, and brutality as social accomplishments—if not actually as social virtues.

Before the reign ended, however, the immorality of the stage had received a blow from which it never recovered. In 1699 Jeremy Collier (1650–1726) published his *Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage*, which was a powerful attack upon the existing condition of the drama. Collier urged that the business of a play was to recommend virtue and discourage vice, whereas in practice writers made "their top characters libertines" and gave them "success in their debaucheries." Both Dryden and Congreve issued lame justifications for the existing indecency, but Collier's attack was so obviously deserved, and expressed so vigorously the best opinions of the time, that its success was inevitable. Even in Anne's reign the stage remained far from pure according to modern standards, and it was Addison who finally drove indecency from polite literature; but the honour of having struck the first telling blow belonged to Collier. Indeed, he struck so hard that he not only damaged indecency but also the comic drama in which it had featured. With the retirement of Congreve in 1700 its best days ended, and for nearly two centuries the theatre was

regarded with puritanical distrust by middle-class households.

In prose, the most outstanding name in William's reign besides Dryden was that of the philosopher John Locke (1632-1704), whose practical common sense, thought, and broad-minded tolerance epitomized the spirit of the times more than any other writer. In 1689 he published his *Letters on Toleration*, advocating freedom of worship in so far as it did not interfere with the ends of government, under which qualification he would have excluded Roman Catholics and atheists on the ground that they could not be trusted to obey the magistrates or to adhere to covenants and oaths. The following year his essay *Of Civil Government* appeared. This was an answer to the political philosophy of Filmer's *Patriarcha*, and was an *apologia* for the revolution of 1688. Government, it asserted, was not a gift of power to rule arbitrarily, but a fiduciary trust made by the people, and revocable if the conditions on which it was granted were abused or ignored. It was a clear statement of the responsibility of the executive, illustrating the Whig theory of the Constitution, and it exercised a great influence in later years over the authors of the American revolution, and over Rousseau, the evangelist of the revolution in France. Locke's work on *The Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695) sums up in its title the attitude of the age towards religion—its desire to rationalize everything, and bring all within the scope of the reasoning faculty. But his chief title to fame as a philosopher rests on his *Essay on the Human Understanding* (1690). In this he enunciated his famous theory that all knowledge is derived from experience, ideas being evolved from sensations received through the senses, which are perceived by the mind and which then set in motion the process of reflection, thus producing the idea. The theory ignored those inherent faculties of the mind which are derived from heredity, but its reasoning harmonized with the line of thought promoted by the observations and researches of the

astronomers and physicists of the age, and it won almost universal acceptance in the eighteenth century.

The work of John Flamsteed (1646-1719), the first Astronomer Royal; Edmund Halley (1656-1742), who devoted his life to the study of the stars and the tides;



JOHN LOCKE.

Robert Boyle (1627-91), famous for his experiments in pneumatics; and, towering above all, Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727), the great physicist and mathematician, all seemed, like that of Locke, to show that behind every natural phenomenon there lay some simple explanation of cause and effect, or some law easily comprehensible

by the human mind. Newton, in particular, had as great an influence upon his generation as Darwin had on his. His conclusions sprang from such apparently simple and commonplace methods that mystery was banished from nature and nothing seemed impossible to human reason. If it were possible to discern the character of such an intangible thing as light merely by using a prism, or with the aid of a telescope and a mathematical calculation to identify the force which swung the planets on their course with that which caused the apple to drop from a tree, it seemed that in time man might be able to discover and understand the whole mind of God as it worked in and through Nature. Newton's revelation of the rule of law in the universe appeared to lay open the whole of the divine scheme of things.

"Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night.
God said 'Let Newton be,' and all was light,"

was Pope's summary of an influence which soon permeated every aspect of thought, and by teaching men to seek knowledge from science, and not from divine revelation, contributed largely to the rationalism and materialism of the eighteenth century. Philosophy henceforth became no more than a matter of observation and mathematical calculation, while in religion the argument from design, the proof of the existence and beneficence of God, based on the wonderful mechanism of Nature, superseded the idea of miraculous manifestation or of divinely inspired writings.

The Essayists

The social and constitutional changes created by the revolution had far-reaching effects on literature. After 1688 new classes of society, which had been developing during the previous fifty years, first established their position and became conscious of their importance. The growing industry and trade of the country and the

wealth it produced had created a new middle-class, opulent and leisured, which had, moreover, won great political power as a result of the revolution and the events which followed. The Dissenters, also, were able for the first time, after the Toleration Act, to take their proper place in society and exercise the influence which their earnestness and stress on moral conduct could not fail to give them once persecution ceased. Hitherto literature had been the preserve of court circles and had been fostered by the patronage of the nobility, but these new strata of society, prosperous, powerful, intellectually alert, and morally purer than the topmost slopes of the social pyramid, opened up a completely new literary market to be catered for. The popularity of the coffee-houses and clubs of the day, with their innumerable patrons all gossiping art, politics, religion, scandal, and fashion, emphasized still further the need for a literature which might collect, arrange, and criticize the floating opinions of these social centres, and reflect all that keen and varied interest in morals and manners which the age displayed.

The need was met by the development of the essay, which was a new form of composition in English literature. The first example of the periodical essay was the *Review* of Daniel Defoe, which came out twice a week during the years 1704-13; but it was Addison and Steele who carried it to triumph as one of the most popular forms of writing in the language. In this the initiative came from Sir Richard Steele (1672-1729), a genial spendthrift Irishman, whose chequered career as soldier, courtier, poet, dramatist, and man about town had only served to increase his knowledge of human life, his native Irish humour, and his inexhaustible sympathy for his fellow beings. In April 1709 he founded a journal called the *Tatler*, which was to come out three times a week. It began with a varied programme: it was to discuss entertainments, affairs of gallantry, literature and learning, foreign and domestic news; but from the start there was a tendency to

comment and criticize rather than to narrate, and to play the moralist instead of the newsvendor. When Joseph Addison (1672-1719), an old friend of Steele's, began to write for the *Tatler* the transformation was rapidly completed, and the paper became almost exclusively devoted to essays on life and letters. In early life Addison had been a fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and had only been prevented from entering the Church by the expostulations of his friend, Charles Montague, the Whig Chancellor of the Exchequer, who realized his literary ability, and, with the aid of Lord Somers, secured for him a pension of three hundred pounds per annum in order that he might travel and increase his accomplishments. He made a reputation for himself by his verses on the Peace of Ryswick and on the campaign of Blenheim; but his greatest fame was to rest on the essays which the *Tatler* first prompted him to write. In this he soon overshadowed its founder, Steele, who complained good-naturedly, "I fared like a distressed prince who calls in a powerful neighbour to his aid. I was undone by my auxiliary." Addison brought to his new task an elegance and correctness of style, an exquisite sense of good taste, a gift for gentle satire, and an urbanity of disposition which was never ruffled. In addition he was a profound observer of life, a great portrait painter, and an enthusiast for moral conduct. His comments on every aspect of contemporary life, which were shrewd, playfully satirical, full of *bon sens*, and at the same time distinguished by an entirely new atmosphere of refinement, purity, and feeling, at once won for him the support of the new reading public, and established him as the great arbiter of propriety and tone. It is easy to repeat Taine's sneer that his essays were "mere lay sermons," or to endorse Mandeville's dictum that he was "a parson in a tye-wig," but men as far apart as Voltaire, Johnson, Macaulay, and Thackeray have agreed in their homage to Addison's genius, and even if there was something of the prude and the blue-stocking in his make-up, it was

all to the good that in a dissolute and brutal age a voice should be raised successfully in favour of right ways of thinking about morals, taste, and good breeding ; that



JOSEPH ADDISON.

(From a painting by Michael Dahl.)

profligacy, gambling, and duelling should be authoritatively censured ; and that refinement of speech and conduct should be taught.

In their crusade to improve the tone of society

Addison and Steele recognized the benign influence which woman might exercise, and they were among the first of their generation to visualize her as an instrument for the moral elevation of man, and not merely for the gratification of his pleasure. They wrote for her eyes ; taught respect for her sex ; praised her grace, gentleness, and virtue ; and insisted not only that she should be treated as a fellow creature, and not as a child or a plaything, but also that her presence demanded propriety of conduct and conversation. More than any one they helped to emancipate woman from the degrading position in which the Restoration epoch had placed her, and to give her her true place in society as a softening and elevating influence.

The *Tatler* came to an end in January 1711 because Steele had shown Whig sympathies in it, for which he had been rewarded with the gift of a Commissionership of the Stamp Office, and as the new Tory Ministry in 1710 did not deprive him of this office he felt it an obligation of honour to discontinue the paper. But in March 1711 the two friends began the immortal *Spectator*, which was to be non-party in tone, and was to come out every day. Its aim was to narrate the doings and opinions of a club of imaginary beings who personified various types of character : Sir Andrew Freeport, the pushing purse-proud merchant ; Captain Sentry, the army officer ; Will Honeycomb, an old fashionable *beau* ; a clergyman and a lawyer to represent their respective professions ; and the famous Sir Roger de Coverley, an embodiment of the ideal, old-fashioned, kindly country squire, simple but honourable in character. The scheme offered admirable scope for Addison to paint a life-like gallery of literary portraits, and to indulge his sly gentle irony and humour at the expense of his contemporaries. The *Spectator*, as Macaulay said, had the interest of a novel, for no work giving such a brilliant and faithful picture of everyday life had as yet appeared, and its success was immediate. It was read in all parts of the country, and ten thousand

copies a day were being sold before it came to an end in December 1712—largely because the idea of the club on which it was based had been exhausted of its humour and interest. As an influence on public opinion it has never been surpassed. Addison and Steele founded a new and loftier standard of conduct, more humane and civilized than its predecessor. They banished indecency from the world of letters, and by the impetus which they gave to the growth of the reading habit among those who wanted healthy, light, and entertaining occupation for the leisure hour they became the true founders of modern journalism, and the first to create an organized public opinion.

The Political Importance of the Men of Letters. Rise of the Political Journalists and Pamphleteers

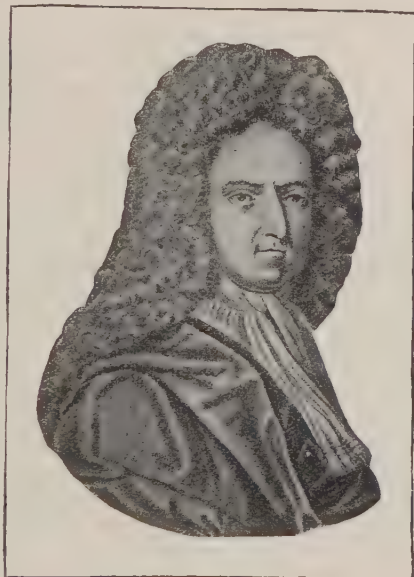
The political changes of the period had an even greater effect on literature than the social ones. The supremacy which Parliament had won at the revolution naturally produced a deeper interest in politics among those classes who elected, or sat in the House of Commons, and this new eagerness for political news was whetted by the critical nature of the problems then under consideration. At a time when constitutional and religious liberty were being slowly evolved, when England was engaged for the first time since the Middle Ages in a great continental war, and trade was disorganized, it was inevitable that the country squire and parson, the Dissenter, the merchant and the manufacturer should all clamour for news of the latest move in the political game, and should be anxious for some authoritative opinion on it. A vast but unorganized body of interest thus came into being which sought for information and guidance, and which was sufficiently powerful to make it both necessary and profitable for party leaders to endeavour to placate or win it. The publication of parliamentary debates was still a breach of privilege, and the age when statesmen toured the

country speaking from local platforms had not yet dawned ; but the men of letters stepped in and filled the need. They could provide the public with the desired news and opinions in popular form, and could explain and justify the policy of the Ministry to the nation at large. Politically, therefore, they became a very powerful factor, and this explains not only the political nature of so much of the literature of the time, but also the close connection which then existed between the statesman and the literary man. Ministers competed eagerly for the services of the best writers who might win them that popular support without which, in the long run, they could not survive now that their tenure of power rested on Parliament and not on the king.

There had been signs of this development before the revolution, for Charles II. had used Dryden to arouse opinion against Shaftesbury and Monmouth ; but it was not until after 1688, when Parliament had become predominant, and met regularly, and sat long debating issues which were vital to the whole nation, that literary talent became an essential bulwark to political power. After the Restoration the press had been kept under a strict censorship by the Licensing Act, but in 1695 this was allowed to lapse, and the freedom thus secured still further enhanced the value of the services which writers might render to their party. During the reign of Charles II., Sir Roger l'Estrange (1616-1704) had established several journals in support of the court and against the Whigs and Dissenters, but at the revolution no proper newspaper existed in England except the *London Gazette*, founded in 1665, which merely published such news as the Government thought it desirable to release. The liberation of the press in 1695 was followed by a whole crop of new papers ; but they restricted their attention to retailing news, and made no attempt to comment on it, or to organize public opinion. The place of the newspaper "leader" of to-day was then taken by the pamphlet, and it was by the publication

of these, or of journals specially designed to propagate specific political principles, that the writers of the time served their respective parties.

Foremost among this new school of political journalists was Daniel Defoe (1661?-1731). In 1701-2 he championed the policy of William III. over the Spanish Succession question in several brilliant pamphlets, and in 1702 he attacked the Occasional Conformity Bill in *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*—a piece of grave irony which ridiculed the authors of the Bill by pushing their arguments to an extreme of absurdity, and proposing the hanging or banishment of all Non-conformists. For this pamphlet Defoe was flung into prison, but Harley released him in



DANIEL DEFOE.

1704, and for the rest of Anne's reign he was employed in the interests of that statesman. He had much to do with the passing of the Act of Union with Scotland, and served as a secret agent of the Government in Edinburgh; and after the Peace of Utrecht he wrote several pamphlets to remove the suspicion that Oxford's Ministry was intriguing to restore the Pretender. In addition to these activities he also founded several

papers, including the *Review* in 1704, which dealt with matters of trade as well as with town topics and foreign news. During this period he was essentially a journalist; his works of fiction, including the immortal *Robinson Crusoe* (1719)—which gave such an impetus to the rise of the English novel—lie outside the scope of this chapter.

Jonathan Swift (1667-1745) was another of those who wrote pamphlets for the Tory party. Swift in early life had been secretary to Sir William Temple, in whose household he had met most of the distinguished men of the day; but in 1694 he took orders and obtained a small living near Belfast. While there he wrote his *Tale of a Tub*, in which he gave vent to that fierce hatred of shams which always obsessed him, and discussed religion with such audacious satire that it led to suspicions of his orthodoxy, and undoubtedly damaged his hopes of preferment in the Church. But Swift was essentially politically-minded—he said himself he could only preach political pamphlets—and during the early years of Anne's reign he spent a good deal of his time in London making friends with Addison, Steele, Congreve, and other literary men, and writing numerous pamphlets on the Whig side. In 1710, however, he separated from the Whigs because he thought them opposed to the Church principles he had always held, and perhaps also because he had been disappointed in his hopes of preferment. He was introduced to Harley and St. John, who wanted "some good pen" to support their Ministry, and they told Swift he was the only writer they were afraid of. For the next few years he became a sort of unofficial Minister for propaganda in Oxford's Cabinet, and rendered valuable services to it by his writings. For eight months (November 1710-June 1711) he wrote in the *Examiner*—a Tory journal—lashing Marlborough and the Whigs with all the invective and biting sarcasm of which he was a master; and in his three great pamphlets, *The Conduct of the Allies* (1712), *The Barrier Treaty* (1713), and *The Public Spirit of the Whigs* (1714),

he laid the Tory point of view before the nation, urging that the war with France had been prolonged by the Whigs in the interests of Marlborough and of the monied classes, that the allies of England had duped and cheated her, that the continuance of the struggle had ceased to be a national interest, and that the Peace of Utrecht was a necessary and statesman-like accomplishment. His influence was so great that he boasted that his pamphlets were even read aloud from the pulpit by country parsons for the instruction of their flocks.

Addison and Steele both wrote for the Whigs. Addison's *Campaign*, a poem describing the Battle of Blenheim,

was a ministerial "puff" inspired by Godolphin, the Lord Treasurer, who sent his Chancellor of the Exchequer to seek out Addison and begged him to honour the great victory in appropriate verse. Addison also founded the *Whig Examiner* to controvert the *Tory Examiner* in which Swift wrote. Even the poets dabbled in politics, for John Philips (1676-1709) wrote a counterblast to Addison's *Campaign*, and Matthew Prior (1664-1721), after serving the Whigs, went over



JONATHAN SWIFT.

to the Tories and became one of the founders of the *Examiner*.

In addition to these various journals and pamphlets the politico-literary activities of Anne's reign produced a great multiplication of newspapers. In 1702 the *Daily Courant*, the first daily paper to appear in England, was published, consisting only of a single sheet measuring fourteen inches by eight inches and printed on one side only; and it is from this period that the press dates its rise as an engine for manufacturing and guiding opinion which soon made it a "fourth estate" of the realm.

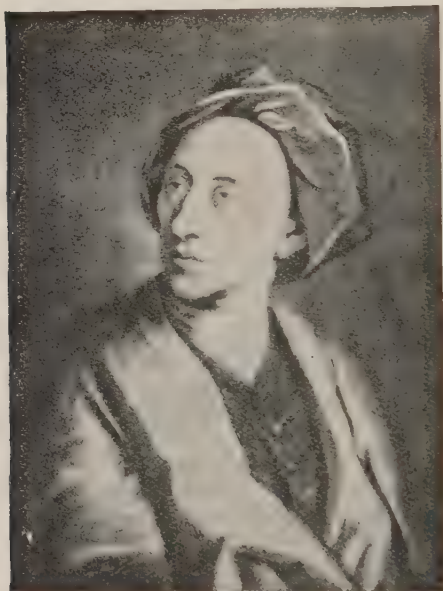
The close connection which existed between literature and politics showed itself in the friendships which arose between statesmen and writers, in the literary excursions of the former, and in the award of high political office to the latter. Montague and Somers were the friends and patrons of Addison; Bolingbroke knew intimately Dryden, Congreve, Prior, Philips, Swift, and Pope; and Harley, who was perhaps the first to grasp the value of pamphleteering in politics, befriended Swift and Defoe. When Harley and St. John rose to power in 1710 Swift dined with them nearly every night, and was called by his Christian name by the Prime Minister and his brilliant lieutenant; while St. John and Prior always addressed each other as "Harry" and "Matt." Montague was himself a poet and a man of letters, as also was Bolingbroke, who wrote in the *Examiner*, and made a literary reputation for himself after his exile. Oxford, though not personally a writer, earned the gratitude of later generations by his great collection of Harleian MSS., which are now preserved in the British Museum. The political activities of the authors of the age were still more striking. Addison was Under Secretary of State, Chief Secretary for Ireland, and eventually Secretary of State; Congreve became Secretary to the island of Jamaica, for which he received £1,200 per annum; Locke was made one of the Commissioners of the Board of Trade and Planta-

tions ; Newton held the mastership of the mint ; Prior was sent as ambassador to France by Oxford's Ministry ; and Steele and Defoe both held minor political offices. The power of the pen has since commanded greater opulence, but it has never afforded such a ready advance to political distinction as it did in the period which followed the revolution.

*Verse and the Drama under Anne. Contemporary
Historians*

The reign of Anne, until the rise of Pope, was not very distinguished for its verse. Translations from classical authors were much in vogue. Dryden had already published translations of Persius, Juvenal, Virgil, and selections from Horace, Theocritus, and Lucretius. In 1708 John Philips imitated Virgil's *Georgics* in his *Cyder* ; Nicholas Rowe translated Lucan ; and at the close of the reign Pope was busy on his *Homer*. Matthew Prior produced light love poems which were characterized by elegance and grace, and were noteworthy because, almost alone at the time, they eschewed the heroic couplet. The hymns and religious poems of Isaac Watts (1674-1748) showed that the spirit of devotion had continued to burn beneath the polite scepticism of society, and some of his hymns still survive in common use. Only the early career of Alexander Pope (1688-1744) fell within the reign, and his life belongs rather to the next age ; but before 1714 he had published his *Pastorals*, the *Essay on Criticism*, the *Rape of the Lock*, and *Windsor Forest*. His verse was a perfect reflection of the spirit of his age : correct, polished, satirical and epigrammatic, devoted to the contemplation and criticism of man and his conduct, stiltedly dignified, full of moral maxims, and yet artificial, sometimes downright indecent, and invariably lacking in imagination, sympathy, and insight. It is all hard, brilliant, scintillating with a mordant wit, but bleak and inhuman. He carried the couplet—

which exactly suited his gift of Baconian compression—to its highest degree of perfection, and judged by the intellectual outlook of his own day, which demanded correctness and wit rather than poetic inspiration, no man was ever a greater poet. His fame has been



ALEXANDER POPE.

(From a picture by William Hoare.)

challenged in later days, not because he did not faithfully satisfy contemporary standards, but because he lacked a whole range of qualities which more romantic and introspective generations have deemed to be essential to the truly great poet. In this, however, he merely mirrored the defects of his time with all its blunt realism and its oblivion to many of the finer and deeper feelings of life.

The drama declined after the retirement of Congreve in 1700. Besides Farquhar and Vanbrugh, Steele wrote several comedies, and Colley Cibber (1671-1757) produced a number which were very popular. Nicholas Rowe (1674-1718) was the chief tragic dramatist of Anne's reign, but the works of John Crowne (1640?-1703), Elkanah Settle (1648-1724), and Thomas South-

erne (1660-1746) were also performed. Addison produced his *Cato* in 1713, but although it caught the popular fancy because of the political significance which the adherents of both parties read in it, it had little dramatic merit. The action was artificial and devoid of passion, while the characters were mere colourless abstractions.

The novel was as yet unknown. John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and his *Life and Death of Mr. Badman* were anticipations of the later fiction; Aphra Behn (1640-89) wrote tales and romances which approximated still more closely to it; and the *Spectator* had all the interest of a novel though it lacked the definite plot. It was not, however, until the close of Defoe's life, and the advent of Richardson and Fielding, that this last and most popular form of literature was born.

The *History of My Own Times* by Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury (1643-1715), was not published until after his death, but it demands notice as the most valuable contemporary account of the period. It was a mixture of memoir and history, and was coloured by his churchmanship, his loyalty to the Whigs, and his devoted admiration of William III.; but in spite of this strain of partiality it contained a high percentage of truth and accurate information. Its value varied according to the facilities Burnet had enjoyed for familiarizing himself with his subject. On Church matters, Scottish affairs, and the revolution settlement it is very full, but his treatment of the reign of James II.—during which he was away from England—and his account of foreign affairs—concerning which he had little information, and probably less interest—was very inadequate. His style was confused, slipshod, and sometimes vulgar, but always clear and crisp, and his character sketches are vivid in their almost brutally truthful descriptions of mental and physical characteristics. For all his partiality, his inaccuracies, and his want of literary polish, Burnet did make the period live

in his pages, and he explained the revolution better than Macaulay, in spite of the wonderful literary art and gift of narrative which the latter possessed.

Lord Clarendon's *History of the Great Rebellion* was first published in 1702, though it had, of course, been written before its author died in 1674. It was a work which exercised a profound influence over the ideas of later generations, and helped to determine educated opinion upon the civil war. Both as a masterpiece of stately English and as an exposition of an ideal of government in Church and State it founded a school of literary history, written from a party point of view, which lasted in England for nearly two centuries. Royalist and Anglican in tone, it was none the less moderate in its judgments, and though Clarendon has been refuted in detail, his *History* is still in the main unshaken and unrivalled as an authority for the period.

Architecture, Painting, and Music

The artistic accomplishments of the age pale into insignificance by comparison with its literary brilliance. It was, perhaps, too comfortable, practical, and settled in its opinions to generate any great artistic inspiration, and with the exception of architecture there was an almost complete absence of any native art of merit. It was left mainly to foreigners to satisfy the æsthetic demands of the time.

Inigo Jones (1573-1652), by his prolonged studies in Italy, and by the powerful influence which Palladio exercised over him, had produced an architectural revolution which moulded all later building in England; and Sir Christopher Wren (1632-1723), though he was influenced by French rather than by Italian masters, completed the process of replacing Gothic by the new Renaissance style based on classical models. Its massive dignity and air of opulent and rather ostentatious magnificence suited contemporary tastes better than the aspiring perpendicularity of Gothic; and the great

architectural activity of the time, which reflected the prevailing prosperity, flowed almost without exception into Renaissance forms. In St. Paul's Cathedral, London, which was finished in 1710, Wren bequeathed to the country one of the finest examples of the new style in Europe, and a dome without a peer in beauty of proportion or in the impressiveness of its outlines. Most of Wren's work was done before the revolution, but under William III. he made extensive alterations to Hampton Court, and in Anne's reign he built Marlborough House, and designed the twin western towers of Westminster Abbey.

The other outstanding builder of the period was Sir John Vanbrugh, who was as much an architect as a writer. Immensity was the keynote of his style. He always aimed at the idea of grandiose and stupendous size, and there was a touch of the megalomaniac about his plans which could only find scope in such palatial buildings as Blenheim Palace and Castle Howard, which he designed. His work was impressive and almost vulgarly magnificent rather than beautiful, but he possessed an original and powerful imagination and a great gift of scenic grouping, which was admirably displayed in the lay-out of Blenheim and its park.

Nicholas Hawksmoor (1661-1736) was a pupil of Wren's, and in addition to the library of Queen's College, Oxford, and considerable work at Kensington Palace, he was mainly responsible for the Royal Hospital at Greenwich. But his most distinctive production was the north quadrangle of All Souls College, Oxford (1720-34), with its Gothic towers. In this he was among the first to break away from the prevailing classicism and revert to earlier models.

The salons and staircases of the huge mansions built by Wren, Vanbrugh, and others called for the services of the decorative mural painter, and the need was met by the Italian, Antonio Verrio (1639?-1707) and Sir James Thornhill (1675-1734). Verrio painted the ceilings of Windsor Castle for Charles II., and worked



THE OLD EAST INDIA HOUSE.
(Drawn from an old print by Herbert Railton.)

in Hampton Court for William III., but his work showed a considerable decline in power in later years, and throughout it was marred by a tasteless flamboyance and by overcrowding of design. Sir James Thornhill adorned the dome of St. Paul's, and worked also in Greenwich Hospital and in Blenheim Palace. In conception and design he was not lacking in grandeur or dignity, and he was a master of the technique of his art, for his paintings have shown wonderful lasting qualities. Besides mural decoration he also painted a number of portraits.

In wood and stone carving Grinling Gibbons (1648-1721) was unrivalled, and his groups of flowers, fruit, and foliage, copied from nature and retaining all the lightness and delicacy of the original, have never been equalled. Few of the mansions of the nobility built at this time are without some traces of his work, but the best examples of it are at Windsor, and in St. Paul's, Chatsworth, and Kensington Palace.

The most prominent sculptor was Francis Bird (1667-1731). He was responsible for much of the sculpture on St. Paul's, and for several of the monuments in Westminster Abbey, including the florid and ponderous memorial to Sir Cloudesley Shovell, which, in its ornate ugliness, was typical of the prevailing lack of artistic taste.

Among portrait painters, Sir Godfrey Kneller (1648-1723), who was born at Lübeck and was a pupil of Rembrandt, was supreme, and he carried on the foreign tradition established in England by Van Dyck and Sir Peter Lely. He was the court painter for all the sovereigns from Charles II. to George I., and had very little competition. His services were in such demand that in the majority of his portraits he only painted the face and hands, leaving the drapery and background to be finished by assistants. His paintings varied in excellence, but there was a certain monotony of dress and attitude about them, due in part to the stereotyped nature of the prevailing fashion. Kneller's only rival,

Michael Dahl (1656-1743), was also a foreigner, for he was born in Stockholm and only settled in England in 1688.

Music was distinguished by the name of Henry Purcell (1658-95), organist at Westminster Abbey and at the Chapel Royal. He had made a deep study of the Italian musicians, and in originality and in richness of harmony and variety of expression he was unequalled until the advent of Handel. John Blow (1648-1708), who was also organist at Westminster and the Chapel Royal, wrote a great many anthems, and enjoyed a tremendous reputation. But with his death British music suffered an eclipse, and the great names of the succeeding generation—Handel and Buononcini—were foreigners. It is, however, hardly surprising that one of the most materialistic and uninspired of epochs should fail to excel in the most eloquent and moving of all the arts.

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GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

TO-DAY it would appear that we are feeling our way towards a new method of teaching history in schools and colleges. The defect of the old system was that history was apt to be taught as a bare scheme of dates and dynasties, a thing without any true "application." When it was taught in greater detail in short periods, these periods were not linked up with any general historical scheme, and so tended to be episodic and unrelated.

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